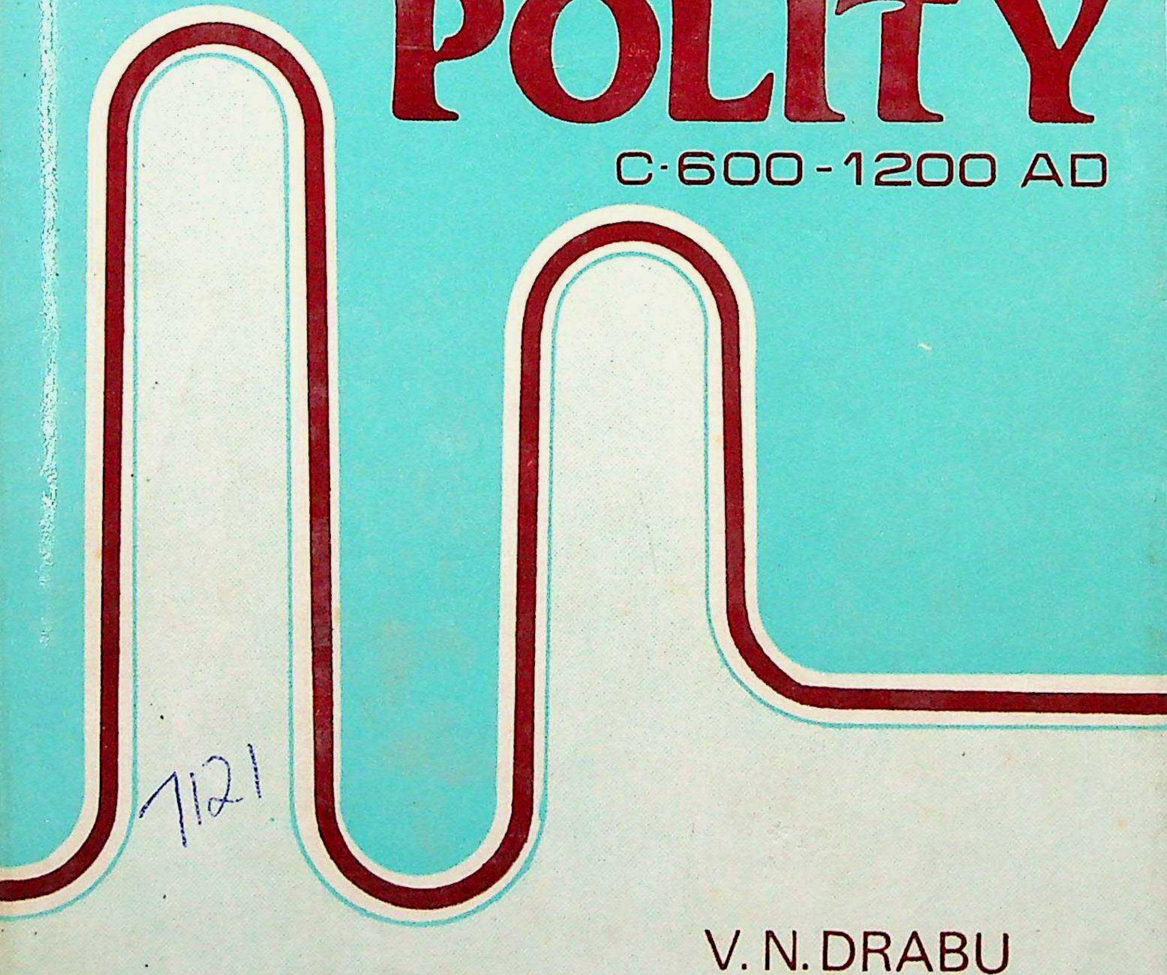
KASHMIR POLITY

C-600-1200 AD



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SERIES IN INDIAN HISTORY, ART AND CULTURE—II

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SERIES IN INDIAN HISTORY, ART AND CULTURE—II

Kashmir Polity
(c. 600-1200 A.D.)

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PREFACE

The period between c. A.D. 600-1200 covers an important landmark in the history of Kashmir. While most of the states in northern India reeled under foreign invasion and suffered owing to internecine warfare, Kashmir acquired an extensive territory under the sway of the Karkota rulers, the secret of whose success lay more in the stabilization of a strong administrative apparatus than any foreign assistance from China. The process of disintegration and diminution of political authority gained momentum after the strong and effective check on feudal tendecies was withdrawn with the fall of the Karkotas. Though the Utpala Kings struggled hard to hold back the disintegrating forces, they failed. The misrule and feudal anarchy that followed both in the time of Harsha and Jayasimha underscore the key role of the overlords and vassals, aligning themselves with this or that ambitious rival claimant to the throne of Kashmir. None of the rulers was able to check the forces of disintegration and parlellisation of sovereignty in the tragic drama of a triangular conflict of the kings, their vassals and Damars who joined at one time or the other by para-military groups of the Ekangas and Tantrins.

Monarchy continued to be elective in character but the role of the *Vipra-parișda* was not the only guiding factor in the selection of rulers whose choice was also, to a considerable extent determined by ministers as feudal lords and those para-military groups who had by the close of the twelfth century assumed an effective control over their fiefs. That the internal disintegration did not effect the organisation of the frontier watch-statims was more or less due to the emergence of well-established organisation of the *Dvarapatis* whose allegiance and loyalty did not suffer much as long as they were in effective possession of their fiefs and'in virtual control of the *drangas* and commanded the support of their feudal levies.

The main purpose of this book is to bring into focus the feudal character of Kashmir Polity, which when viewed in combination with other factors, was largely responsible for the conflicts and crises of the period under study. The evolution and growth of the Kashmir Polity has to be judged in the light of the broad historical perspective of the times; and, in this case, especially of the social and political context of the mediaeval era.

I am indebted to Prof. Lallanji Gopal who, as my supervisor, made very valuable suggestions and criticisms while writing this thesis. Dr Kanti Gopal was equally kind to me and I express my gratitude to both of them. I cannot sufficiently express my obligations to Shri D.N. Pandit of the Central Asian Studies Department, Srinagar and N.K. Gurtu who took great pains in helping me understand some technical terms. The Goenka Library, American Institute of Art and Archaelogy Varanasi have been very kind in providing me with some of the useful materials in the preparation of this book.

I awail of this opportunity to express my gratutite to my wife who attended to all the domestic chores and extended her whole-hearted cooperation solely for love's own sake.

Srinagar
October, 1985

V.N. Drabu

ABBREVIATIONS

A. Br. or Ait. Br.	*Aitareva Boāhmaṇa*
Adhy	Adhyāna
Āgam	*Āgamaḍambara*
Agni	*Agniourāna*
AHP	*Some Aspects of Hindu Pality*
AI	*Ancient India*
AKL	*Avadānakalpalatā*
Albērūnī	*Albērūnī's India*
Amara	*Amarakosa*
Āp. SS	*Apastamba Śrautosūtra*
AS or Arth.	*Arthaśāstra*
ASIR	*Archaological Survey of India*, Reports.
ASR	*Archaeological Survey*, Reports.
ASS	Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series
AV	*Atharva Veda*
AWAI	*The Art of War in Ancient India*
Baudh. or Bau. Dh. S.	*Bhaudhāyana Dharmasūtra*
Beal	*Buddhist Records of the Western World*
Bh. M.	*Bhāratamañiarī*
BI	Bibliotheca Indica
BKM	*Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*
Br.	*Bṛhaspati Smṛti*
Br. Ār. Up.	*Bṛhadāaṇyaka Upaniṣad*
Br. S.	*Bṛhatsaṁhitā*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London.
BVBS	*Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhawan Series.*
Caur	*Caurapañcāśika*

CCIM	*Catalague of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Culcutta.
Caru	*Cārucarya*
Catur.	*Caturvargasaṁgraha*
CII	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.*
CMI	*Coins af Mediaeval India* by Cuningham.
DD	Darpadalanam
DHNT	*Dynastic History of Northern India* by Ray
Dīgha	*Dīgha Nikāya*
Ed.	Edited by, Edition
EC	*Epigraphia Carnatica*
EHCK	*Early History and Culture of Kashmir*
ET	*Epigraphia Indica*
Elliot	Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by her own Historians*
ELNT	*Economic Life of Northern India* by Lallanji Gopal
ESS	*Encyclopaedia of Social Science*
Gautama or GDS	*Gautama Dharmasutra*
GOS	Gaikaward Oriental Series
Gṛ. S.	*Grihya-sūtra*
Hara	*Haravijaya*
HAT	*Hindu Administrative Institutions* by Dikshitar
HB	*History of Ancient Bengal*, Vol I.
HB	Harṣacarita of Bāṇṇabhaṭṭa (Nirṇaya Sāgar Ed.)
HDS	*History of Dharmaśāstra* by P.V. Kane
HMHI	*History of Mediaeval Hindu India* by Vaidya.
HPT	*Hindu Political Theories* by U.N. Ghoshal.
HRS	*Contributions to the History of Hindu Revenue System* by U.N. Ghoshal
IA	*Indian Antiquary*, Bombay.
IB	*Inscriptions of Bengal*, iii,

	N.G. Majumdar.
IC	*Indian Culture*, Calcutta.
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.
JA	Journal Asiatique, Paris.
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Baltimore
Jai. G.S.	*Jaiminīya Grihya-sūtra*
Jāt	Jātaka
JASB	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Culcutta.
JAHR	*Journal of the Andhra Historical Society*, Rajahmundry.
JBBRAS	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
JBORS	*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna.
JBRS	*Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna.
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Leiden.
JIH	*Journal of Indian History*, Trivandurm
JNSI	*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Varanasi.
Jona	*Jonārāj's Rājataraṅgiṇī*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* of Great Britain and Ireland, London.
JRASB	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Culcutta.
JAS (Pak.)	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Pakistan*, Dacca.
K. Ktr.	*Kṛtyakalpataru*
Kalā	*Kalāvilāsa*
Kapp.	*Kapphinābhyudaya of Śivasvāmin*
Kāṭya	*Kātyayana Smṛti*
KNS	*Kāmaṇḍaka Nītisāra*
KRB	*Kashmir Research Bianual*, *Srinagar*
KSS	*Kathāsaritsāgar* (Tawney's ed., Munshiram).
Kuṭṭa	*Kuṭṭānimata* of Dāmodaragupta

LP	*Lokaprakāṣa*
Manu	*Manusmṛti*
Mārk. p.	*Mārkanḍeva Purāna*
Mbh.	*Mahābhārata* (=Bombay ed.)
Mbh. (Cr. Ed.)	Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
Mbh. (Cal.)	*Mahābhārata*, Calcutta edition.
Mrch.	*Mrcchkaṭikā*
Narma.	*Narmamālā-Deśopadeśa*, Srinagar.
Nār	*Nārada Smṛti*
Nītivākya	*Nītivakyamṛta*
NKT	*Nītikalpataru* of Kṣemendra
NP	*Nīlamata Purāṇa* (Vreese ed., unless specifically stated otherwise).
PHAL	*Political History of Ancient India* by H.C. Raychaudhuri.
Proc. IHC	*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*
PA	*Pṛthīrājavijya of Jayānaka*
Raghu	*Raghuvaṁsa of Kalidāsa*
Rām	*Rāmāyṇa*
Rāṣtra	*Rāṣṭrkūṭas and their Times*
RT	*Rājataraṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa*
RV	*Rg. Veda*
Samaya	*Samayamātṛka of Kṣemendra*
SB	*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*
SBE	*Sacred Books of the East*
Sel. Inscr. or SI	*Selcct Inscriptions›* i D.C. Sircar, Calcutta 1942.
SGAI	*State Government in Ancient India*, 1958, ed.
SII	*South Indian Inscriptions*
SIER	*South Indian Epigraphical Report*
SIP	South Indian Polity
SP	*Śānti Parva*
Srīk	*Śrīkaṇṭhacarita of Mañkha*
Sriv	*The Rājataraṅgiṇī of Śrīvara*

Stein	*The Rājataraṅgiṇī*
Subhāṣita	*Subhāṣiiāvalī*
Sūkti	*Sūktimukhtāvalī*
TA	*Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*(*BI*)
TB or Taitt. Br.	*Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*
Tr.	Translated by, Translation
TS	*Taittirīya Saṃhitā*
Vā.P	*Vāvu Purāṇa*
Vas. Dh. S.	*Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra*
VDP	*Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*
Vikram	*Vikramaṅkadevacarita of Bilhaṇa*
Vin	*Vinaya Piṭaka*
Viṣṇu	*Viṣṇu Smṛti*
Vogel	*Antiquities of the Cambā State*
WAI	*War in Ancient India*
Watters	*Watters: on Travels of Yuan Chwang*
YāJ	*Yājñavalakya Smṛti*
Yasas	*Yaśastilaka*

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that has a wide canvas for human characters and human events. Hitherto the chronicle has been used mainly for the political and cultural history of the land. In Kalhaṇa's own words the purpose of his writing was to 'furnish a medicine' to those kings who became either overbearing in the glories of their kingdoms and the prosperity of their administrations or grieved at the adversity of the same.[1] The first three books of the chronicle may not be wholly reliable, but the period from the beginning of the Kārkoṭa rule down to the reign of Jayasiṁha till A.D. 1151 bears the stamp of historicity. Numismatics, epigraphy, archaeology and literary evidence from other parts of India confirm its historical character. The narrative helps us in understanding the polity of the country both in its theoretical background and actual practice. The use of provincial vocables sometimes obscures the true meaning and import of many terms used by Kalhaṇa. Some of these words, such as *pādāgra*, *velāvitta*, *vilabdhisthāvara*, *ḍhakka*, *Ekāṅga* and *Tantrin* are not mentioned in the inscriptions of the period under survey. Their interpretation, nevertheless, is essential to understand the true nature of Kashmir polity. Kalhaṇa's account of the warring tribes of Ḍāmaras, Lavanyas and other para-military groups and his pleadings for saving Kashmir from dissension has an important bearing upon its polity. His narrative of earlier kings and the description of righteous and libidinous kings helps us in determining the evolutionary process of political institutions. His allusions to the *Mahābhārata* tradition and the *Smṛti* digests show how the Kashmiri writers on *nīti* were strongly influenced by them. Kalhaṇa refers to the edicts issued at the coronation of former kings, inscriptions on matters with which those kings were concerned, laudatory scrolls containing genealogical lists, etc. The edicts were used to announce important rules of policy or granting lands and allowances to temples and monasteries or to individuals. Kalhaṇa also refers to short inscriptions on objects of households furniture, coins, arms, copper plates of grants of lands and allowances and similar other things.[2] All this suggests that land-grants played an important role in the feudal organisation of social and economic life. As monarchy was an established political institution, Kalhaṇa, throughout his narrative, dwells upon the *Karma* theory which mysteriously interlinked the subjects and their kings and made them interdependent. Far from tracing the origin of kingship to some divine agency, Kalhaṇa reads in its purpose the reflection of cosmic forces to achieve the fulfilment of an individual's personality and the obligation of a *rājā* to achieve the welfare of his subjects alongside his own. In spite of his true brāhmaṇical bias, Kalhaṇa does not ignore the interaction of social forces that shape the political institutions of a country.

The *Nīlamata* (or *Teachings of Nīla*) contains legends rewarding the origin of Kashmir and its sacred places. It refers to the first settlement of Nāgas under their patriarchal chief Nīla on the land that had been reclaimed from the great lake of Satī. Owing to large scale killing of the inhabitants of Dārvābhisāra, Gandhāra, Jalaindhara and other neighbouring regions by Jalodbhava, a water-born demon, Nīla approached his father Kaśyapa to help them in getting rid of the wicked demoṇ. At the request of Kaśyapa gods went to fight the demon and Viṣṇu ultimately slew him. Then followed the settlement of human beings who acknowledged Nīla as their king. As the country was occupied in winter by the Pisācās under their king Nikumbha, men lived for only six moths at the beginning of spring. It appears that during the process of settlement most of the Piśācās were killed in tribal conflicts and the land was permanently settled by the followers of Kaśyapa. We have here the genesis of a territorial society, called the state, organised under the patriarchal chief, who became its first king. The rites prescribed by Nīla for the incoming settlers point to a process of acculturation and social transformation, the first step leading to the organisation of a territorial society under the unified command of its first rule, the Nāga Chieftain Nīla. Besides, it explains the importance of these rites and ceremonies in coalescing the social elements and leading to social solidarity. The Purāṇa also contains a section on *rājadharma*, describing the coronation ceremony and the functions of a king. Incidentally, it also throws some light on the seven limbs of the State.

Būhler takes the date of the Purāṇa to the sixth or seventh century of the Cristian era when Buddha came to be represented as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇū.[3] His workship along with the Śākyas (*i.e.* the Baudha ascetics) by the brāhmaṇas of Kashmir was a singular feature of her social configuration the impact of which is clearly reflected in the policy of the rulers who consecrated shrines without any prejudice to Brāhmaṇism or Buddhism.

The *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* is a poem of historical interest. It elaborates the Purāṇic legend of Śiva's overthrow of the Asura Tripura. A portion of the text, however, possesses valuable material. In the third canto the poet gives an account of his family. One of his brothers Sṛṅgāra assisted Sussala in the war against Harṣadeva and received the office of *Bṛhattantrapati*. His other brother *Alaṁkāra* held the office of *Saṁdhivigraha* under Sussala and Jayasimha. Maṅkha himself held some office under Jayasiṁha, probably the charge of some district. Another brother Bhaṅga too was employed as state official. This refers to the hereditary character of officers during our period. The same canto gives a fine picture of the city and its artistic and cultural activities indicating systematic town planning in the twelfth century. The twenty-fifth or last canto of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* is of special significance. It throws into clear relief the role of the *Sabhā* as a meeting place for some thirty contemporary scholars, poets and officials assembled at the house of Alaṁkāra on the occasion of presenting the poem to it. The Sabhā functioned as the chief instrument of social intercourse among the learned. Besides, it played the important role of bringing the ambassadors of different states together and introducing changes in law and administration. The concluding canto explains how the commentary of Aparāditya (the ruler of the Konkaṇa) on the Yājñavalkya Smṛti was received and adopted as the only law-book by the learned. This canto also describes some of the court amusements of the period.

It appears that a lexicon called *Maṅkhakoṣa* also owes its authorship to him. Perhaps Maṅkha, son of Viśvavrata, with the assistance of his brothers—all royal functionaries—had the advantage of compiling a dictionary of the usages of his time (A.D. 1135—1145) with which all the brothers were familiar.

Rājānaka Ratnākara enjoyed the munificent partronage of Cippaṭajayāpīḍa, also called Bṛhaspati[4] and later of Avantivarman, the founder of the Utpala dynasty. He wrote the *Haravijaya*, a *mahākāvya*, in fifty cantos. The epic celebrates the defeat of the Asura Andhaka by Śiva. It seems to reflect the political chaos of his time, also referred to by a contemporary poet named Śaṅkuka in his poem the *Bhuvanābhyudaya* the theme of which centres round the conflict between the regents Mamma and Utpalaka.[5] Cantos VIII to XVI show the proficiency of the poet in the science of polity (*nītiśāstra*). He dwells upon the deliberations of the war council in which many *gaṇādhipas* (heads of *gaṇas*) take part and brings out the role of the ambassador Kālamusala in persuading Andhaka to give up the throne of *Svarga* to its legitimate owner. The great epic thus seems to echo the feelings of the poet and the reaction of the *Sabhā* to the battle fought between the regents Mamma and Utpala, ending in the victory of the former and the overthrow of Ajitāpīḍa, a grandson of king Vajrāditya Bappiyaka, whom Utpala had put on the throne by armed force after Bṛhaspati's death.[6] Ratnākara elucidates the role of six *guṇas* (*ṣāḍaguṇya*) as expedients of state-policy and unfolds the relative importance of *daṇḍa* and *nīti*. In fact the major portion of the epic is devoted to the supreme role of *niti* as an expedient of state-craft. Next only to Kauṭilya, the work reveals the importance of all the six-expedients of state policy in the war fought between the demon and Śiva. It also refers to the use of weapons and arms. Besides interesting incidental references to seasons, scenery, court amusements, etc., the epic contains useful information about the cultural history of Kashmir and gives a graphic account of the battle fought between demons and gods, representing the mystique of earthly actors on the canvas of his enormous epic. Ratnākara was a great jurist and lived in close association with the kings of the later Kārkoṭas. He had perhaps some hand in skilfully manoeuvring the accession of the Utpalas to power. The text is thus important for the study of polity in theory and practice and in understanding the role of ministers under kingship which was not necessarily hereditary.

The compositions of Kṣemendra are too many to be cosidered separately. Only a few of his important works may be mentioned here. The *Nītikalpataru* lacks the originality of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* and suffers from interpolations. Nevertheless, it is likely that Kṣemendra gave the 'mūla ślokas' and a part of the commentary in the same. We know that

Kṣemendra had a prince[7] and sons of noblemen as his students. It is, therefore, likely that the wrote a hand-book on the 'Making of a Prince' and laip great stress on the cultivation of 'spotless intellect' (*amalaprajñā*) acquired though the study of philosophy and art of administration. The work is divided into six sections—the first two dealing with the definition, importance and practice of *nīti*, the third with the cultivation of learning and avoiding of folly, the fourth with the general knowledge of things and situations and the last two of a general descriptive nature regarding men and material connected with a king. The author hardly makes any difference between *Nīti* which corresponds to 'ṛta' and that which stands for 'polity'.

It seems that the main body of the work was prepared by Kṣemendra who possibly orally narrated it to his students who worked at it and ascribed it to their master to gain sanction and authority for it. However, the work has been used with reservations.

Like the *Nītikalpataru*, the *Lokaprakāśa* is also considered to be a work of doubtful authenticity. It has been dismissed as a late work of the seventeenth century by some other Kṣemendra[8] on the basis of occurrence of the name of the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan, the defective style and grammatically incorrect language in which the major portion of the *Lokaprakāśa* is written. We no doubt find a jargon of Sanskrit, Persian and Kashmīrī words which must have found their way into the text at the hands of document writers in the Sultanate and Mughal periods. This, however, only shows the practical value of this administrative manual which was constantly used by the petition writers upto the early seventeenth century. This need not cloud our evaluation of the text as a whole and suspect its authenticity. Kṣemendra was a versatile writer and a well-known satirist whose works reveal the society of his times and the evils of a bureaucratic administration. The *Kalāvilāsa*, *Deśopadeśa* and *Narmamālā* highlight the excesses of *diviras* and *grāmakāyasthas*, also echoed in the present text. This provides an illustration of the way in which the official tyranny had travelled down from the time of Kṣemendra (eleventh century) to the period of the Sultans and the Mughals. The high standards of literary excellence had fallen considerably as a result of the alien rule. This is clearly evidenced by a comparative study of the writings of Kalhaṇa and his successor Jonarāja who flourished under the benevolent rule of Zainu-l-ābidīn. The use of Persian terms and Muhammadan names such as *Suratrāna* (Sultān), *Salām Bandagi*, *Khwāja* and *Mir* may be explained by the fact that the document writers of the seventeenth century chose these terms to suit the demands of their clients in their legal documents where Hindu names would hardly make any sense. Secondly, the fact of the text bristling with a number of local words has been explained by Kṣemendra himself in the eighth lecture of *Deśopadeśa*[9] where he says that he would describe types of the people in mixed local dialect. If Kṣemendra could think of describing a villain, a miser, a prostitute, a bawd etc. as his social characters, there is no reason why he should have missed the use of so many local words in legal documents at the hands of the scribes against whom he lashes in the *Narmamālā*. Even a classical writer Kalhaṇa finds fault with his way of writing when he remarks that 'owing to a certain want of care, there is not a single part in Kṣemendra's list of kings (*Nṛpāvalī*) free from mistakes, though it is the work of a poet.'[10] Does it mean that Kṣemendra's knowledge of history was very poor or does it indicate that his style of writing found little favour in the orthodox circles of scholars and poets ? Thirdly, only a versatile genius could have given us a *Lakaprakāśa*, a person thoroughly acquainted with the machinery of government and the evils of bureaucracy. The *Lokaprakāśa* is the only available independent text on legal documents pertaining to the selling and mortgaging of land and other immovable property. The present text divided into four *prakāśās*, the first relates to the description of *viṣayas* and terms connected with the army, accounts office, judiciary, cereals etc. The second *prakāśa* deals with a variety of *huṇḍikās* and *cīrikās* used in day-to-day transactions, mostly in an agricultural economy. The third *prakāśa* lists the names of fruits and a variety of occupations etc. The fourth *prakāśa* about the *kāyasthas*, the royal functionaries, revenue-rolls and Kashmir geography, is of real historical value.

Kṣemendra's *Bhāratamañjari* and the *Rāmāyanamañjarī* are the abstracts of the two great epics, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Bṛhatkathamañjarī* is an epitome of Guṇādhya's *Bṛhatkathā* in Paiśāchī. The Buddhist *Avadānas* are abridged in the *Baudhāvadānakalpaiatā*. They provide useful information about kingship. His satirical works like the *Kalāvilāsa* and the *Samayamātṛkā* are intended to expose the tricks of rogues, traders, artisans etc. and the snares of courtesans respectively and incidentally introduce us to the corrupt officials of the bureaucracy moving amongst them. The important characters of the *Deśopadeśa* and the *Narmamālā* are drawn from a cross section of the society and give us an insight into the administration of villages, the department of Home Affairs and feudalisation of administration.

Somadeva was a younger contemporary of Kṣemendra and appears to have lived in the reign of King Kalaśa between A.D. 1063 and 1089. He translated the Paiśācī *Bṛhatkathā* of Gunādhya. According to Bühler, Somadeva composed the *Kathāsaritsāgara* to console King Harṣadeva's mother on the death of her son which took place in A.D. 1101.[11] But the internal evidence of the poem suggests that it was written at the behest of queen Sūryamatī, the wife of King Ananta, sometime during the latter half of the eleventh century. Somadeva's compendium consists of 18 books of 124 chapters and more than 21,000 verses. A fairly large number of legends and witty stories is dovetailed into the main narrative. The principal interest of the work lies in relating the adventures of a prince who succeeds in obtaining the *rājyaśri*—a princess of his own choice and a kingdom, the usual theme for many historians of ancient India. The work refers to the education of the prince, the ideals of administration etc. and is of much importance to a student of political thought of this period.

Sivasvāmin, also known as Bhaṭṭa Śivasvāmin, wrote a poem named *Kapphiṇābhyudaya* in which he relates the story of Kapphiṇa or Mahākapphiṇa, king of Dakṣiṇāpatha, his victory over Prasenajit of Śrāvastī and acceptance of Buddhism. He lived in the reign of Avantivarman (A.D. 855—883). The text is a useful source for our period. It shows ministers assembling in the Sabhā and spies taking part in discussions of state affairs, and the various aspects of *nīti*. Śivasvāmin chose a theme in which he could sing the glories of Kashmir represented by the term *Kapin* as well as that of Kapphiṇa, one of the twelve great disciples of Buddha.

The *Agamaḍambara* of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa belongs to the ninth century A.D. The drama contains some useful information. It reveals how democratic practices were followed in resolving religious controversies. It emphasises the role of assemblies in religious disputations and wisdom of conciliating the heterodox elements. The duties of the *dharmādhikārin* and some officers are laid down, along with the role of queens in the religious controversies of their time.

Dāmodaragupta was the chief councillor of king Jayāpīḍa. His *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvya* deals with the profession of the courtesans but incidentally refers to certain heads of income, feudalisation of administration and the place of princes in provincial administration in the background of the contemporary social life. It refers to the *niyogins*, the paraphernalia of the administration of princes, officers attached to the finance department, the land-grants and monetary grants made by the provincial heads.

Of the literary texts the eighteenth canto of *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* of Bilhaṇa makes some important references to the period of king Ananta, the grant of *maṭhāgrahāras*, the description of the city of Pravarapura, the victory over the Śakas and seven allied *mleccha* kings of the Darada ruler Acalamaṅgala which denotes the conversion of the tribal leaders, living on the borders of Kashmir, to Islam and their subsequent influence on the polity of Kashmir as noticed in the reign of Harṣa.

The account of the Chinese traveller, Hsüan Tsang, provides valuable information about the political organisation of the Kārkoṭa times. When he visited the valley in the middle of the seventh century A.D., he found an extensive territory under the sway of the Kārkoṭas—Taxilā to the east of the Indus, Uraśā (present Hazārā), Siṁhapura (the Salt Range), including the hill states of Rājapurī and Parṇotsa. His account shows that horses, elephants and chariots were included in the military organisation. The pilgrim bears testimony to the existence of one hundred *vihāras* and four Aśokan *stūpas* which points to the spirit of religious tolerance during this period. While the king, presumably Durlabhavardhana, who received him, was a follower of Hinduism, his queen Anaṅgalekhā, as revealed by

Kalhaṇa's account, was a follower of Buddhism.[12] The organisation of religious discourses and the availability of all facilities to the pilgrim points to a non-sectarian outlook of the administration.

"Hui Chao's Record on Kashmir" shows that the practice of donating villages to the monasteries by kings, queens, princes and chiefs became fairly common by the middle of the eighth century. According to the Korean pilgrim the inhabitants of villages were transferred and bound to serve the landed beneficiaries. He visited the five regions of India in the third decade of the eighth century.

The accounts of Ou-kong (a Chinese pilgrim of the eighth century) and the notices of Albērūni (11th century A.D.) point to the strong defences of the kingdom. Ou-kong mentions three routes, over the mountain, one leading to *Tou-fan* Tibet in the east, *Po-liu*, or Baltistan in the north and *Kien to-lo* or Gandhāra in the west. Another route which, according to Ou-kong, was always closed and opened when an imperial army honoured it with a visit, probably refers to the route leading over the Pīr Pantsāl range in the south.

It is unfortunate that no inscriptions of the period have come down to us. A few, however, from the state of Chambā, which was a feudatory of Kashmir, help us in corroborating the functions of various state officials common to the two states. Of these inscriptions the most important for our purpose are land grants which refer to the district and other territorial divisions. The list of donors confirms the relation of these rulers with those of Kashmir. The donee's and his descendant's rights and privileges including exemptions and immunities in respect of the gift land are equally applicable to Kashmir. These land-grants made on an extensive scale in Kashmir created the landed intermediaries during our period. It is difficult to isolate the political organisation from the prevailing land system.[13]

REFERENCES

1. *RT* I 21.
2. *RT* I 15.
3. *Report*, p. 41.

4. See Colophon to the *Haravijaya*; pp. 42-43.
5. *Subhāsitāvalī*, 526, 534, 750, 874, 908, 1156, 1234. The *Bhuvanābhyudaya* has not come down to us but quotations from it are found in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī* (15th century A.D.).
6. *RT* IV 703, 704,706; cf. *Report*, p. 44.
7. *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa* (Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series), No. 24, p. 21.
8. *LP* pp. 2 and 3 (Foreword).
9. VIII, 1.
10. *RT* I 13.
11. *Report*, p. 50.
12. *RT* IV 3.
13. *Light on Early Indian Society and Economy*, p. 149.

1

Origin, Nature and End of the State

ORIGIN OF THE STATE

Modern works on polity[1] have expounded different theories on the origin of the State which are really the theories about the origin of kingship. Save for a number of legends and myths about the evolution of a political organisation, we have hardly any positive evidence to show when such an organisation came into existence. The *Mahābhārata*[2] and the *Digghanikāya*[3] in their speculation on the problem reveal a marked similarity, though separated from each other by considerable time. Both proceed from the same premises of a golden age followed by anarchy and vice leading to the appointment or the election of a king.

The *Nīlamata Purāṇa*[4] narrates the story of the evolution of Kashmir which may be briefly summarised thus. For six Manvantaras since the beginning of the *kalpa*, it was a beautiful lake.[5] In the interlocution between king Gonanda and the sage Bṛhadaśva, the latter gives an account of the time-divisions, the destruction of the world, turning into a sea at the end of the *manvantara*, lord Mahādeva staying all around the world in the form of water, goddess Satī assuming the form of a boat and the future Manu placing all the seed in that boat, Viṣṇu, assuming the form of a fish and fastening the boat to a mountain later on named Naubandhana, the end of the period equal to *kṛta* and then Manu bringing about the creation of beings as before, the goddess Satī becoming the earth and the emergence of a lake of clear water, known as Satīdeśa, and at the approach of the seventh (Vaivasvata) Manvantara the origin of various tribes from Kaśyapa, who was married to the thirteen daughters of Dakṣa. Of these the Nāgas are the sons of Kadru and Garuḍa the son of Vinatā, the two daughters of Dakṣa. Owing to their tribal conflict the Nāgas, harassed by Garuḍas, sought the protection of Viṣṇu who granted them and their chief Vāsuki safety in Satīsaras and appointed Nīla as their king.

The legend refers to the tribal warfare in which the Nāgas seem to have been pushed towards the lake of Satīsara. But in the next phase of the conflict we are introduced to the Jalodbhava, the Daitya—chief of the water dwellers who seem to have scared away the tribes of Darvābhisāra, Gāndhāra, Juhuṇḍara, Śakas, Madras etc. and threatened the very existence of the Nāgas whose chief Nīla approaches Kaśyapa for help.

The two approached gods Druhiṇa, Upendra and Rudra (Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śiva)[6] and got the Daitya Jalodbhava killed by them. The land reclaimed from water was called Kaśmīra[7] and the gods built their hermitages there. Ananta, the plough-holder, too constructed a great hermitage. The Nāgas shared the company of the Piśācas for the following six months and for the first six months they lived with men from different quarters.[8] These men were to follow the customs of Nīla and offer him the tribute of flowers, incense, ointments, eatables, incense of various types and excellent gifts of dramatic performances.[9] It was on this condition that they could enjoy the use of animals and grains which refer to the terms of land-tenure in its early stages.

Thus what had been a heart-enrapturing lake for six Manvantaras since the beginning of the *kalpa*, became a beautiful territory (*viṣaya*) in the seventh manvantara.[10]

The cosmogony of the Paurāṇic lengend refers to the first settlement in and around the lake and after its dessication to the settlement of various tribes besides the Nāgas and Piśācas who were the earliest settlers. From this we get a picture of a fine territory being settled by men from different quarters who are made to acknowledge the authority of Nīla, under whose umbrella we find independent chiefs—Nikumbha of the Piśācas and Vāsuki of other Nāgas. Here are the rudiments of a political organisation—territory, population and the supreme authority of Nīla.

NĪLA, THE PATRIARCH-CHIEF

About Nīla the *Purāṇa* says that he was the chief of the Nāgas (*nāgādhipa*) and Vāsuki and other three Nāgas were the guardians of quarters[11] under him. The *Purāṇa* mentions 603 Nāgas. It says that Kadrū adorned with a thousand sons shines exceedingly by this Nāga chief (*nāgarājendra*).[12] He is shown amidst the mighty Nāgas and Nāga-maidens, seated on a high couch.[13] The institution of the patriarchal joint family, of which Nīla was the patriarchal chief, seems to have been the germ out of which the institution of the State gradually evolved. The Nāgas lived in joint families which were big enough to include several hundered persons—grandfather, father, uncles, nephews, sons, daughters-in-law etc.[14] The patriarch wielded very wide powers over the members of joint families, could banish any person under his potestas for the offence of adultery and kidnapping of women,[15] settle other communities, appoint guardians of territories etc.[16] His position was more or less like that of a king who could give his own code (*nīlamata*) for the incoming settlers to follow.[17] The patriarch was revered and obeyed.[18] With the expansion of the joint family into a federation of several natural families, Nīla appointed the senior member of the senior-most family as the head of a village they settled in. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* shows how Śaṅkha (fourteenth in the list of the Nāgas in the *Nīlamata*) and Padma (two Padma Nāgas referred to in the *Nīlamata*) and others attended Kashmir.[19] This implies that the head of the village claimed his authority from a common ancestor and possibly discharged his functions in consultation with other elder members of the locality. According to the *Purāṇa* many *janas* or tribes emigrated accompanied by their chiefs who were followed by many horses and elephants,[20] and lived in the home of their common ancestor, Nīla, the son of Kaśyapa. The Paurāṇic evidence thus shows that the Nāga society in that early period was divided into families, settled in villages joined together by a bond of kinship under their chief, 'Several such groups of villages closely knit together by a bond of common descent made a *jana* or tribe, which had its own *janapati* (or *nāgarājendra*). Since Kaśyapa is the father of all beings,[21] including Nīla, the other *janas* too were bound by the same bond of kinship. A number of families descended from a common ancestor constituted a village, and several such villages made a tribe. On the battle field hosts of armies of gods were arranged on the basis of kinship and Nīla, the patriarchal chief, is shown slaying thousands of demons who were thorns for the gods and the brāhmaṇas.[22] Though the brahmanical tradition weaves a legendary story around Nīla as being the essence of the Vedas, the object of worship in the fire, as the custodian of piety, truth and forbearance, it is clear that he led the troops against the Daityas.[23]

Thus Nīla as the patriarch of the family was revered and obeyed. His *Sadācāra* (code of Nīla), social traditions and customs evoked a similar obedience to the head of the village and tribe who had acquired the status of chiefs and kings. As states grew larger the power of the kings too was widened. The institution of the joint family thus gradually led to the evolution of kingship. It accepted the two main principles of the inviolability of family property and the sanctity of family ties and marriages. Nīla is shown punishing the sin of the molestation of women and ensuring peaceful enjoyment of property.[24] This was guaranteed by the rise of the state which recognized the institution of the family and the family property.

The *Nīlamata Purāṇa* does not refer to a golden age of harmony and happiness[25] or to a universal social contract to punish missappropriation and adultery but hints at the emergence of the state from a patriarchal society. Clever brāhmaṇas, however, seem to have attributed kingship to Nīla at the hands of Brahman to justify their acknowledgement of his supreme power over them and the obedience to his code of Law (*Sadācāra*). The *Nīlamata Purāṇa*, hints at the expansion of Nīlas jurisdiction over other tribes in the process of which he had to combat the tribe of Jalodbhavas with the help of the followers of Kaśyapa. His position as a patriarch in pre-historic times was similar to that of a king and the natural families that branched off from the joint family traced their descent from a common ancestor. The State was thus the product of a natural evolution and its maintenance and expansion were based on force as is evidenced by the Nāga-Jalodbhava conflict.

CONTRACT AS THE BASIS OF THE STATE

There is, however, a notion of government coming into existence as a result of some contract. Vasubandu's account[26] follows more or less the version of the *Dīghanikāya*.[27] It runs as :

> In the beginning the beings resembled the gods of *rūpa*. Gradually, under the influence of greed and idleness, they laid by provisions for themselves. After dividing their fields, they set up and remunerated a *kṣetrapa* (protector of the fields).[28]

In his own commentary on the verses Vasubandhu says: 'At the beginning of the cosmic age there were no kings. Men resembled the beings of *rūpadhatū* who were born of the spirit with all their limbs complete and intact, without a substitute, with all their organs under control, of beautiful figure and complexion, self-luminous, traversing the air, subsisting on joy and long-lived.[29]

When one of the beings, out of greed, tasted the honey-like juice of the earth, others followed him and their bodies became solid and heavy and they lost their ethereal and refulgent frame. This led to darkness which was wiped off with the coming of the sun and the moon. The earth hid its sweet juice and violent earthquakes took place followed by the emergence of wild creepers to which the beings got attached. When these creepers disappeared, there grew up paddy which became their food and led to the formation of excreta followed by their sex-organs.

They got new forms and indulged in sexual acts. They reaped their fields in the morning and evening. But a lazy being amongst them laid by a provision of rice for himself and others imitated him. There arose among them 'the idea of mineness', 'the idea of property'. When the rice being cut ceased to grow, they divided the fields so that each became the owner of a field.

'When the beings forcibly seized the possessions of others, there came the beginning of theft : to prevent this they joined together to give one-sixth of their possessions to a distinguished man who would protect their fields : to this man they gave the name of 'lord of the fields' (*kṣetrapa*), and thence he received the title of Kṣatriya : as he was highly esteemed (*sammata*) by the multitude (*mahājana*) and as he gratified his subjects (*rañjana*), he was called *Mahāsammata*.

THIS IS THE ORIGIN OF KINGSHIP

Even the *Rājataraṅginī* vaguely refers to *Mahāśākya* (considered to be the *mahāsammata*)[30] in whose presence ignorance is dispelled. The idea is that when there arose ararchy and chaos, people got rid of growing lawlessness by having a person named Mahāsammata elected as their king. The very name suggests compact and the consent of a public in seeking his protection. But there is no suggestion, even in the Buddhist tradition, that the king's duties are fixed by the public, or that it can interfere with his day-to-day administration.

The theory of social contract presupposes a community of persons who are conscious of their rights and mutual obligations. But to expect a universal contract from a people who were just emerging from a state of nature is obviously bad logic. The theory has, therefore, been rejected as bad history. Nowhere is it stated as to what constitutes a breach of contract and how the ruler was bound by a contract without being a party to it. In fact, ancient writers looked at the problem of the state from a semi-religious and sociological rather than a purely secular point of view. They did not visualize a conflict between an absolute monarchy and the people's struggle against autocracy on the same lines as it developed in the West against which the contractualists worked out their theories to check the growth of royal absolutism.

THE DIVINE ORIGIN THEORY

Even the divine origin theory of the State has been applied in the Indian context without realizing that in its concept of the organic state the king never enjoyed, at least in theory, the right to rule wrong. On the contrary, the institution of kingship was thought necessary to avert the evils of *mātsyanyāya*, to curb the anti-social elements and restrain the tendency to do evil.[31] In the West in the conflict between the Church and the State the two assumed antagonistic attitudes to justify the absolute power of one over the other. In India, and so in Kashmir, whatever divinity was claimed for the ruler it was justified on the basis of righteous rule to maintain a social order and equilibrium vouchsafed by Dharma. It is in this context that the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* upholds the divine character of monarchy.[32] An important implication of all these theories is that kingship arises at a certain historical period in response to the needs of mankind.

MAGICIAN KINGS

There are some other theories about the origin of the State. Some modern historians argue that magicians may have won the confidence of the people who on their part accepted them as their kings.[33] Kingship may have arisen thus in some primitive communities, but there is nothing to suggest such an origin with regard to Kashmir were kingship and force played a dominant role in the evolution of the state. More than the divinity of kingship, the concept of a patriarch-chief as the begetter of the prosperity of the people was widely held and actively propagated by the brāhmaṇas of Kashmir[34]

CONCEPT OF THE STATE

We have now to consider that the constituents of a *rājya* (a territorial state) are and examine how they are interrelated and held together. Stein takes the word *rājya* both in the sense of a kingdom and a government.[35] Singh refutes the arguments of Bhandārkar and others to show that the terms *janapada* and *rāṣṭra* stand for people, and hence *rājya* may be taken to include kingdom.[36] But Kāmandaka, whom he quotes to support that *rājya* apparently stands for kingdom, has distinctly used the word '*rājya*' for a state.[37] Kalhaṇa and Śivasvāmin too use the word in the same sense,[38] the former using the terms *jana* and *janapada* or *maṇḍala* for 'people' and 'kingdom'[39] respectively.

Our sources do not make any direct reference to the seven elements of the State. From scattered references we gather that the writers were conscious of the fact that the State was not a loose assemblage of parts, each having its own independent will and volition, but an organic unity.[40] *Nīti* aimed to bring good to all its limbs (*sarvāṅga*),[41] viz. king,[42] ministers,[43] army,[44] treasury,[45] fort,[46] ally[47] (mitra) and territory (*pṛthvī* or *deśa*).[48] Dāmodaragupta and Śivasvāmin refer to *prakṛtis* in the sense of the *saptāṅga*, without naming the constituent elements separately.[49] What is important is that allies came to have an important place in the whole concept of the State. The explanation of this may be sought in the existence of small states usually trying to maintain the precarious balance of power amongst themselves. Of the constituent elements *svāmī* (the sovereign power)[50] and *rāṣṭra* (territory)[51], the *Nīlamata Purāṇa* gives enough details. The *Purāṇa* as also the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* refer to the excellence and strong points of the kingdom (*maṇḍala*) of Kashmir : well protected, a good territory, capable of producing all crops, not wholly dependent on natural rain or snow (*adevamātrakam*) for agriculture and inhabited by people devoted to the performance of sacrifices and the study of the Vedas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras.[52] The *Purāṇa* underlines the importance of the territory and its population when it describes it as endowed with all grains, enjoyable and thickly populated (*bahuprajam*).[53] The state was regarded as an instrument of weal and not of coercion, essentially a beneficent institution for the protection of human life and for the better realisation of its higher ideals.[54] A number of *janas* that settled down in the kingdom were assured of full protection by the state on the condition that they obeyed the sovereign power of the state. Ministers, army (*Caturaṅgabala*) and the treasury constituted the other elements. These as also the forts are casually referred to in the *Purāṇa*.[55]

It was realised that the progress and prosperity of a State depend upon the co-operation and proper co-ordination of all the constituents. The body politic cannot function if any one of the limbs acts independently in disregard of other elements. The State, costituted of seven elements, cannot stand if one of them is missing, just as three sticks poised properly against one another will collapse, if one of them is taken away.[56]

ORGANISMIC THEORY OF THE STATE

The writers on polity regarded the State as an organic whole. Dāmodaragupta draws an analogy between the State and human organism. The seven constituents of the state when set on their own path of activity contribute to the defence and prosperity of the *rājya*. But the constituents (*prakṛtis*)[57] are as difficult to control as the people who differ in their nature and perform their duties according to their own nature. People possess lust, anger, greediness, etc. and are always eager to obtain good luck and pleasure and to keep them under control is very difficult.[58] Likewise the constituents of the State, in which sense also the word is used by Dāmodaragupta, may be kept in their proper form only through great effort. According to him the State is a living organism, possessing organs each of which performs a specialized function, all contributing to its common well-being. Their is an organic unity among different elements and they must work unitedly towards making the State strong and stable. Śivasvāmin also underlines the organic conception of the state :

> O King, what can ever be the reward of state– sovereignty, whose constituents are subject to change and whose 'prakṛtis' are variable, which is exposed to conspiracies and disturbed by the hosts of enemies, other than the glory which comes from marching against an enemy's country ; just as in the case of the body whose limbs are perishable, which is subject to deviations from the normal state, which is disturbed by passions and which suffers from acts of

knavery, there can be no better reward than its purification leading to salvation.[59]

Briefly stated this means that the state aims at acquiring the territory of the enemy as the body aims at obtaining *paraloka*. The body is always subject to ailments arising from three humours, its limbs are prone to weakness and change, it suffers from unsteady movement, puts up with all circumstances and is always disturbed by enemies like lust, anger etc. In the case of a *rājya* the subjects are always discontented, the elements disturbed because of their imperfections, *sāma*, *dāna* etc are the inadequate devices, puts up with the conspiracies of state craft and is disturbed by a host of enemies. *Paraloka* is the end of both. Kṣemendra compares the king to a charioteer, his body to the chariot, senses to the horses and his *ātmā* to the controller of the chariot.[60] Jayānaka says that the king is the head of the state. The integrity of the state and life of the people depend upon the personality of a king whos presence secures the protection of the country and its people.[61] Even the dust and the wind dare not touch the country which is endowed with a *rājā*.[62] The organic conception extended to the whole kingdom, the constituents being indissolubly connected with each other in their weal and woe in a cosmic order.[63]

The organic theory leads us to the conclusion that the State and the subjects are interdependent. But the theory has its own limitations. Tha cells and limbs of an organism have no independent existence of their own apart from the whole organism whereas the constituents of the state are discrete and elements like the *durga* (fort) or resources can lead to the formation of another state by some powerful groups within the state. The value of the theory lies in the fact that it shows that, howsoever important the king or ministers may be, the state can function well only if all the limbs are in proper co-ordination and free from any trouble.[64] The calamity of even one element affects the efficient functioning of state.

REPUBLICAN ELEMENTS

Though monarchy was the normal form of government, the *Nīlamata* also refers to *Gaṇamukhyas* (the chiefs of the Republics), *Vāramukhyas* (the chiefs of the Courtesans), *Pauramukhyas* (the chiefs of the *Pauras*), *Pradhānas* etc.[65] in connection with the yearly coronation bath of the king. The *Avadānakalpalatā* also refers to women heads of cities (*pauramukhyāṅganā*).[66] The *Bṛhatsamhitā*[67] locates many a tribe in the north-eastern region along with the Gāndhāras in the extreme north of India. This suggests that many republican tribes lived in the peripheral regions of Kashmir and acknowledged the authority of its rulers and paid some nominal tributes to them and participated in important functions like the coronation ceremony of kings etc. We also hear of autonomous republics called *paurasvāmika rājya*.[68]

THE END OF THE STATE

Dharma is the root of the state. A king's *śrī* (prosperity) is holy and full when devoted to the performance of sacrifice, charity and the protection of subjects.[69] The principal aim of Indian states has been the promotion of *dharma* which is assigned the restricted meaning of righteousness. In a broader context *dharma* includes all the aspects of social, economic, political and moral life in which is sought the fulfilment of an individual's personality in this world and the next, a social harmony in which the social groups find the opportunities of attaining material welfare and spiritual well-being, an atmosphere in which these groups not only co-exist but co-ordinate their activities towards a common goal of raising the self. Thus the end of the state in Kashmir too was the promotion of *dharma* and for its maintenance it created necessary conditions. The first aim of the state was to maintain and preserve peace and order, security and justice, or broadly speaking the external conditions for the maintenance of society. Like an earthly Indra the king protected the earth and with his capacity and strength maintained an undamaged *śāsana*,[70] upholding law and order. The king was to punish the wicked and to help the virtuous.[71] Like the cloud he was to revive an exhausted people (*jana*)[72] and nourish them.[73]

The State was to promote the *trivarga* (*dharma*, *kāma*, and *artha*) without any conflict between these.[74] But in this connection there has been considerable misunderstanding about the concept of *dharma*, one of the *trivargas*. It is held that it enforced the iniquitous *varṇāśrama-dharma* to the detriment of the lower classes and was based on social injustice.[75] '*Dharma*, in its wider sense of a general moral ideal, is said to introduce us to the fact that equilibrium rather than equality, peace rather than liberty, were the fundamental ideals.[76] These notions can be interpreted partly as an escape from, and partly as an attempted insurance against the primeval chaos which was supposed to lurk in the background, the chaos which was believed to justify indirectly, and positively to require, the state itself.'[77] Ideals were no doubt expressed in terms of ethics, but these did not necessarily introduce inequality and loss of liberty. Just as in *Plato's Republic* social justice is obtained by each individual attending to his particular function, likewise social justice was to prevail without creating class-confusion in society. Of course the type of social equality that Derrett thinks of did not exist in that period even in the West. The basic problem was how to reconcile individual freedom with the authority of the State. This the state tried to achieve by allowing the individual the freedom in his own sphere of activity without conflicting with the interests of others. Derrett thinks that the fundamental ideals of a traditional Hindu State were to maintain equilibrium and piece in the social structure with the help of the instrument of *dharma*. This would suggest that the ideal for which the State existed was simply to maintain the static equilibrium of *varṇāśrama-dharma* and eliminate the possible factors leading to war. If *dharma* is taken in its comprehensive meaning, it included all laws, social, religious and civil. The requirements of the society directed the social structure with which the State, of course, never interfered. The State enforced the *dharma* as evolved and developed by the society, without assuming the role of a legislator. It aimed at the benefit of all classes and the *brāhmaṇas* did not enjoy and special immunity on account of their being the superior *varṇa*, nor did they assume the functions of the State. There was no concept of any Church-and-State dichotomy. Of course, the penalty for the offences committed by brāhmaṇas was lighter as compared to other classes, but their obligations were heavier. It was always expected that they would live upto the highest ideals of self-abnegation and promotion of individual's welfare. The *Dharma-śāstras* do not sanction their encroachment on other *varṇas*, nor does *dharma* make the state the upholder of any particular religion or any particular system of religious beliefs and practices at the expense of the others.

The State was conceived to derive its vitality from penance (*tapas*).[78] The king therein looks lustrous like the sun and gladdens his people like the moon and is dreadful like Indra to those that are wicked.[79] Such a king shares half of the seat of Indra.[80] The basic ideal of the State has been to promote and maintain *dharma*, which of course, includes *sva-dharma* as well. But it would be putting too narrow an interpretation on it to say that 'dharma, in the sense which predominates in political theory, is an abstraction of *sva-dharma*, the 'own *dharma*' of each caste and category of person'.[81] The state exists not only to provide stability to society but to make men good, to enforce what is morally right and socially expedient. Like Sagara and Janaka kings pursue Trivarga in proper order, proportion and time, leading finally to bliss.[82] It is for the sake of *dharma* that a king governs the earth with faith, purity and devotion, and not for pleasure which is transitory by nature, not for life, not for wealth, not for glory.[83] Those who have faith in *dharma*, regard for the real Truth, courage to give, ardour for passion, fervour for forbearance, love for righteousness, an eye for self-control, achieve salvation, even while they live as householders.[84] The *rājyaśrī* of a king follows him to the next world when he attaches her to himself by unfailing *dharma*. He ascends bodily to the worlds of Śiva together with his near attendants.[85]

From these maxims and duties laid down for kings, we get an idea of the purpose which the State stood for. The primary duty of the State was to protect and sustain the people (*prajānu-pālana*) and in truthfully keeping to their duty even Indra, Brahman or the weak Yama cannot oppose the commands (*śāsanas*) of kings.[86] Those that spend riches to make their people happy and prosperous are dear to them (*prajānātha*) and those that destroy are the demons of kings (*rājarākṣasa*).[87] Even the king abandons his own case (*pakṣa*) if it is not in consonance with *dharma*.[88] With the help of *daṇḍa* he chastises the wrong-doer and rewards the righteous.[89] These ideas are in line with Bhīshma's and Manu's conception of the end of the State, viz. the security and happiness of the individuals and the stability of the social order. The king is an essential unit of an integrated social structure. He as well as his people have to strive for harmony, subordinate their temporal interest to spiritual interests, and simultaneously try for their co-ordination on the ground of their interdependence.

THE IDEAL STATE COMPARED WITH THE PLATONIC STATE

This view of the ideal state is comparable with that of Plato. The Greek philosopher held the view that the realisation of virtue was the highest end of the State and the first two classes could be trained for it. The capacity for virtue was the most essential requirement and those guardians, who realised the identity of the interests of the State with their own, alone could establish such a State. Philosopher kings, according to him, could be found only amongst the gentry. The philosopher king was not bound by any written law. His moral qualities were less likely to make his rule oppressive. Plato thus excluded written law and public opinion. In the ideal State the life of the philosopher king is one of renunciation and surrender, a life of self-control and freedom from hatred wherein political authority is tempered by wisdom.[90] The Platonic State is guided by moral standards. The end of such a State is to make its citizens moral. Aristotle also points out that the State must have a moral end for the attainment of good life by an individual. Thus 'the ultimate end of the State, as of the individual, is the realisation of the best self'.[91] Derrett's contention that the notion of *dharma* was introduced as an attempted insurance against the primeval chaos which was believed to justify indirectly, and positively to require the State itself[92] is wrong. *Dharma* was the anchor of a highly evolved spiritual and cultural life rather than the cause to avert the state of chaos.

According to Barker : 'The philosopher king is not a mere edition or assertion; he is the logical result of the whole method on which the construction of the State has proceeded'.[93] The distinction between organic and inorganic state, though not expressly emphasized, is present throughout the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[94] The king was bound by the principles of *dharma* and approved practice and customs and was guided on the right path by his ministers. Tyrannical autocratic rule was not unknown and the tendencies of an inorganic State are also in evidence. There could be nothing but disapproval and contempt for wicked or immoral kings,[95] leading even to their deposition. The tyrannicide was applauded in ancient India as in ancient Greece.

The State may appear to be based on the Brāhmaṇical foundation, such as is indicated in the *Mahābhārata*, of a social order based upon *varṇa* and *āśrama*. But the fundamental ideal for which it existed was to give protection and sustenance (*pālana*) to the people and provide essential conditions necessary for the development of an individual's personality—his physical and moral self.

THE STATE AND THE INDIVIDUAL

The end or purpose of the State brings us next to the problem of the relation between the individual and the State. There was no such thing as a conflict between the individual and the State. Derrett says that 'In the traditional concept of the society *prajā* (subjects) and *rāja* (the ruler) were the two principal elements, polarities,[96] one might say, is a half-truth. The *rājā*, no doubt, had a peculiar role for which an education of some intensity and certain duties related to his office were recommended. But that hardly suggests that *rāja* and *prajā* were the two extremes of the social structure with no indentification of interests between them. That was not the idea of the State held by ancient sages and *ācāryas*. Formally there might have been a distance separating a father from his children, but he commanded their obedience and respect, giving in return his love and sustenance to them. The *rājā* too bore the relation of a father to his *prajā* which has been discussed below. Though there might have been deviations from this ideal in actual practice and the means of *daṇḍa* to control the subjects as Yama look dreadful, the king is exhorted to live up to his ideal. Thus there was no dichotomy of the ruler and the ruled, nor was there any institutionalized religion. The king was a custodian in the same sense as father or mother, husband or wife, are of their children. No special ideals 'other than to conquer and protect' were developed for the *rāja*. He was no doubt the key figure in leadership, bound as much by *dharma* as his own people, working out his own salvation as the individuals worked their own. The kingly power was a trust, as it were, from the people. Both were governed by the basic tenets of *dharma* and both aimed at the attainment of the moral and spiritual perfection. Brāhmaṇas were respected and patronised but only those who had the power of penance and austerities.[97] They drew their power and strength from the membership of the *parṣad* (Brāhmaṇa corporations) rather than as officers of the State. Their *prāya* (solemn fasts) to lead the king to the path of rectitude was considered to be more serious than any statutory law. The Śūdras and Vaiśyas were as free as the brāhmaṇas. The chiefs of the gaṇas of Śūdras and the Vaiśyas took part in the annual coronation ceremony of the king along with the Kṣatriyas and the brāhmaṇas. This shows that they were equally important.[98]

Though we cannot say anything about the different *varṇās*' equality before law, it, however, appears that the kings did not discriminate against the lower *varṇas*. The king and the *Carmakāra* (a worker in leather) are shown to be equal in the eyes of *dharma*.[99] The householder feasts and enjoys in the company of servants.[100] The Karmajīvīs and the Śilpīs belonged to the Śūdra varṇa who were low-paid workers or artisans. They exchanged gifts with the higher *varṇas* during the Mahimāna celebrations.[101] They worshipped the goddess Bhadrakālī on the eighth of the dark half of Aśvina and their tools in the temple of Durgā.[102]

Nor was there any discrimination against sex. Women moved quite freely in the society and took part in the outdoor festivals.[103] She dressed in her best attire, perfumed with scents and decorated with ornaments, and sported in the company of men on the last day of the Mahimāna celebration.[104] In the Kaumudi Mahotsava a woman is mentioned as sitting beside the sacred fire in the company of her husband, children, servants and husband's friends.[105] She is not 'the living torch illuminating the way to hell'.[106] She speaks the language of gods (Sanskrit) like her own mother tongue.[107] The role of women in politics and administration was equally singular as compared to the other parts of India. Sugandhā, Diddā, Sūryamatī etc. are some such examples.

It is interesting to note that religious controversies were debated in specially convened synods with little or no interference of the State.[108]

This position refers to democratic tendencies in our period. The king identified his interests with those of *prajā* and acted like a father to his subjects.[109] Obedience to rulers was natural and spontaneous, it was not imposed. So Derrett's contention that 'to search for social and political ideals anterior to the caste-system would be fruitless'[110] is untenable in the context of Kashmir.

GROUNDS OF POLITICAL OBLIGATION

Though there is no separate treatment of grounds of political obligation in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* or any other text from Kashmir, we do have scattered references in a number of passages in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* which help us to formulate some idea of the grounds of political obligation. The main grounds on which political obligation has been emphasized are the following:

(1) There was no constitutional machinery to enforce political obligations in Kashmir during this period. The king and his subjects were governed by moral obligations towards one another. The king was a father to his subjects, more like a *pater-familias* than a divinity. He protected and nourished his subjects in return for which they were obliged to pay him taxes and dues.

(2) He was interlinked with his subjects through the power of *karma* which brought them good fortune or bad luck. This reminds us of the traditions where the birth of a progeny is said to govern the fortunes of the entire family. So strongly is the point emphasized that the king, the land, the subjects, the flora and even the weather are mystically interlinked. Good kings arise through the merits of their people and some may even outlive the *kalpa*.[111] Kalaśa's mind, just like that of a father,

was always occupied with the kindly protection of his people through a rise in his subjects' merits.[112]

(3) The king's race, fortune and life are consumed by the fire that arises from the burning pains of the subjects.[113] Wealth which kings acquire by oppressing their subjects falls a prey to fire and other calamities.[114]

In both instances the *karma* of kings and subjects affects the fortunes of the kingdom. Even all natural events are intimately linked with human conduct and behaviour ((*karma*).[115]

(4) The people are obliged to obey the king's commands where these do not conflict with *dharma*.[116] If they refuse to obey him, he is morally obliged to punish them to preserve the society.[117]

(5) Ministers have a right, and, indeed, a moral duty to speak their minds freely to the king, to criticise his policy and suggest a course of action. His duty is to execute or not to act upon necessarily their advice or what has been suggested.[118] He is morally obliged to respect his councillors' right of free speech.

(6) The description of Kashmir kings as being portions of Hara affirms the belief in the paternalism of the ruler similar to that of Lord Śiva in a higher and nobler form as the source of *kalyāṇa* (prosperity) for the individuals.[119] Hence the subjects are not to disregard the commands of the rulers, even if wicked. So functional divinity of the king is emphasized to enforce obedience from the people.

(7) This, however, does not suggest complete and passive obedience to a wicked king. Kalhaṇa condemns the misdeeds of vicious kings and explicitly admits the moral justification of revolt by the people against a king who blatantly infringes *dharma*[120] and their right to slay him. But here also Kalhaṇa's faith in *karma* of the individuals ultimately leads to the destruction of such wicked kings as are gulity of the destruction of living beings.[121] It is implied that if a king fails in his function of protection, he is not really a king at all, but a worthless being, and no more worthy of obedience than a common man. Though Yudhiṣṭhira belongs to the legendary period, the reference nevertheless reflects the thinking of the period towards such kings.[122] Thus the king was not infallible or incapable of sin. But here too Kalhaṇa attributes the evil desires of kings, which

bring ruin on the state, to their former births.[123] It appears that the explicit justification of revolt did not have had much effect in practice, for we have no instances of popular revolt against oppressive rulers, Pārtha, Harṣa and others.[124]

From the above facts it follows that the king was not considered to be created by the High Deity out of divine essences. He is the outcome of his own and that of his subjects' *karmas* which link them together in interdependence for the common weal of both, the two partaking for good or evil the fruit of their actions.[125] He identifies his personality with their own and is held to be the guarantee of the fulfilment of individuals' duties. The equation of the role of a king with that of parents implies that a king is to act towards his subjects like a father towards his children and vice versa. It is the filial duty of his subjects to respect and obey him. And the king's obligation towards his subjects is to protect and nourish them (*pālana*), constantly cherishing the good and punishing the wicked and refraining from oppression of his subjects. If the kings follow their distinctive duties, they attain to the position of Indra, but if they go astray from this path, they reside in the hell and perish along with their descendants.[126] Kings who relieve the sufferings of humanity are like the burst of rain or Indra and subjects feel that both *dharma* and *abhaya* (security) come forth again as from an inaccessible retreat.[127] The protection of the earth and the care for *varṇāśrama* heralds the *ādiyuga* (the first Yuga).[128] From the *Pṛithvīrājavijaya* we learn that the functions of the king were: promotion of people's happiness,[129] protection and prosperity (*prajā-kṣema*),[130] prosperity and well-being of his subject,[131] supporting and sustaining the country,[132] protection to all creatures,[133] defending social order,[134] devotion to brāhmaṇas,[135] saviour of cow,[136] defending four *varṇas*.[137] He is a genial and gracious benefactor of his subjects. The paternal aspect is evident from the use of the usual word *prajā*. Thus as the father provides for his children, so does a king provide for his subjects. As the husband provides for the care and maintenance of his wife, he has the right to her obedience and to the physical and other satisfaction which she can provide. The idea of enjoying the earth (*kṣmāpati*, *Kṣāmāpa*) and sustaining her (*pālana*)[138] is repeated throughout the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

The king, therefore, enjoys by right and not by some divine grace, the proceeds of taxes and services from his subjects and the tributes and homage of conquered kings and vassals. Kalhaṇa thus blends the ethico-religious aspects of kingship with quasi-contractual aspects. His conception of the king's obligations vis-a-vis his subjects is governed by a secular outlook. The State like the family exists to fulfil their mutual obligations and just as the proper ordering of loyalties in the family leads to material well-being and spiritual good of its members, likewise a proper co-ordination of authority and obligation in a state promotes the welfare of both the *rājā* and his *prajā*.

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2. *Śāntiparvan*, Chap. 58.
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21. *Ibid* 352.
22. *Ibid* 354.

23. *Ibid* 347 ff.
24. *NP* 356.
25. Cf. *Śānti*. Chapter 58.
26. *Abhidharmakośa* III. 98.
27. Vol. III, pp. 84-86.
28. cf. Dīgha 2. 173, 175.
29. *Ibid* 23. 4; 1.17, 34.
30. *RT* I 141; *Mahāvaṁsa* 2.23.
31. *PV* I 27; *KSS* XII, 35. 63.
32. *Ibid* IV 87; V 132; VI 32. 38; VIII 74; I. 33; IX 38, 45, 48, 50-58, 67, 49-54.
33. *Kingship in Northern India*, pp. 25. 28.
34. *NP* 351 sqq.
35. Stein, Vol. I, p. 22, vv. 118-119; p. 188, v. 20.
36. Singh, pp. 7-9.
37. I. 16.
38. See below.
39. *RT* I and II passim; VII 512; In the Vedic Saṁhitās the word *Jana* is employed in the technical sense of a tribe without any serious attachment to a particular territory. When the *Janas* lost their mobility and divided themselves into several families and imbibed a sort of filial affection towards the territory of their association and ultimately took to some specific piece of territory as their permanent homeland, they came to be known as *Janapada* (See *Janapada State in Ancient India*, pp. 7-8).
40. *Kapp*. 4 24; cf. *Kām*. IV. 1; *Manu* IX, 296.
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53. *Ibid* 19; *JIH* (Golden Jubilee Volume) 1973, *loc. cit* , p. 95. 'He (the King of Kashmir) has many armies and cavalries, broad territory and good population, with plenty of food, translated from *Ts'e-fu-yu-kuei*) (XVIIIth Century Husang's word block ed. hereafter referred to as TFYK), Ch. 999, p. 19a—b.
54. Infra, Ch. II, pp.
55. *NP* 980, 983, 6, 981, 1168.
56. *Manu*, IX 296; *Avadāna* 66. 26-27; Infra (*AKL*)
57. Dāmodaragupta distinguishes between the two usages of *prakṛtis*:—(1) subjects, (2) constituents of the State.
58. *Kuṭṭ* 317. Here we treat the verse as :—
    (1) *Purushā*—the individual subject.
    (2) *Kṛtya*—the functions of the seven constituents of the state.
    (3) *Vikaraṇa*—several devices.
    (4) *Artha*—the defence on one's state and the desire to conquer the enemy state by means of accumulating taxes.
    (5) *Prakṛti*—the seven limbs of the state.
    (6) *durgraha*—invincible; difficult to control.
59. *Kapp*. 4.24.
60. *NKT* p. 34 68.
61. *PV* X. 35; VIII. 4.
62. *Ibid*.
63. cf. *Śrīv*. 1.1.63. According to him the *deśa* resembles a body and the king to the spirit of that body. In the happiness of one is the happiness of the other end, and in the trouble of one the trouble of the other.
64. *Political Thought of Plato and Aristotle*, Barker (Dover ed. 1959), pp. 157-160, 226, 276-281.
65. 812, 859-860.
66. 51.6.
67. XIV. 24-27.
68. *KSS* XVI. 3.17-20; *AKL* XII. 16-18.
69. *AKL* 37-48.
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76. Derrett : 'Social and Political Thought and Institutions', p. 126 in *A Cultural History of India* (Basham) Oxford, 1975.
77. Derrett, *Ibid*.
78. *AKL* IV. 91.
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92. Derrett, p. 126.
93. *Political Thought*, Barker, p. 111.
94. *RT* II 120-122, 61; V 361-368; I 283-284; IV 321; V 3-4, 278; VI 163-165.
95. *Ibid* IV 394-401.
96. Derrett, p. 125.
97. *RT* I 160, 161.
98. *NP* 811 sqq; 1168.
99. The king's blamless conduct is praised for his righteousness.
100. *NP* 385, 395, 406-7.
101. *NP* 735-736, 522-525; Derrett's contention that a Śūdra could have no social intercourse with the twice-born except upon the footing of service, whether in the house, the workshop or the field is not correct.—pp. 128 and 129.
102. *Ibid* 786-789.

103. *Ibid* 385-86, 547, 670, 798.
104. *NP* 524-525.
105. *Ibid* 385-86.
106. *Padma Purāna*, LXI 11-40; Teste. Altekar, Position of Women in Hindu Civilization, p. 324.
107. *Vikram.* XVIII.
108. *Āgam.*
109. *RT* V 350.
110. Derrett, p. 127.
111. *RT* I 187; IV 39; VIII 3405.
112. *Ibid* VII 506.
113. *Ibid* VII 1582.
114. *Ibid* VIII 1951.
115. *Ibid* VII 1721-1723; III 81; I 246-66; II 50 ff.
116. See ante.
117. *NP* 839, 838.
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119. *RT* I 72.
120. *Ibid* I 323-324; cf. *Mbh.* xiii. 60; 19-20.
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122. cf. *HDS*. Vol. III, p. 26; *HAI* p. 73; *Bhāratīya Vidya*, Vol. IX, p. 3 for their arguments and the moral and legal justification of revolting against the ruling authorities.
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2

Kingship

ORIGIN OF KINGSHIP

The *Nīlamata Purāṇa* has some speculations about the origin of kingship.[1] We are told that the countries of Dārvābhisāra, Gāndhāra, Juhuṇḍara, Antargiri, Bahirgiri and those of the Śakas, Khaśas, Taṅgaṇās and Māṇḍāvas were rendered desolate by the Daityas headed by Jalodbhava.[2] Nīla, the patriarchal chief of the Nāgas, sought the assistance of Kaśyapa. A war between demons and Nāgas assisted by gods followed, in which the former were defeated. Under the direction of Hari, Hara, Brahmā and Indra and the company of the hosts of gods, the Nāgas succeeded in winning victory. Once this fierce combat was over, the gods settled in the land of Satīsaras which had been reclaimed from water. Although the patriarchal chief was reluctant to receive the bands of Kaśyapa's followers, he seems to have given his consent in the end. Nīla was made king by the assembled gods, sages and Nāgas because he was the most illustrious, powerful and wise amongst them.[3]

The above legend is briefly narrated in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* too.[4] It indicates clearly that the ancient Kashmirians believed that kingship arose out of a military necessity. R.C.P. Singh's contention that Prajāpati Kaśyapa caused the gods, led by Druhina, Upendra and Rudra to descend on the earth and to be the first ruler of Kashmir is not supported by Kalhaṇa.[5] The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* makes it clear that in the Nāga-Daitya conflict the water-born demons were killed with the help of gods.[6] There is nothing to suggest that god appeared in person as the first king.[7] Nīla emerged as a capable general whose leadership was acknowledged by the Nāga-Kaśyapa confederacy. He was selected to lead them in the Nāga-Jaladbhava conflict. At the end of the conflict he attained the status of a king over the area that came to be inhabited by the people mentioned above. We are not told if Nīla had able sons to govern the kingdom after his death. This suggests that the ancient Kashmirians were opposed to the idea of hereditary kingship.

We have been already that the society at this stage of evolution was patriarchal and that several hermitages (which must have been their families) were erected by sages, Gandharvas, Apsarās, Yakśas, hilly chiefs and Guhyakas.[8] From among the *kulapatīs* seem to have emerged the *viśpatīs* on the basis of their strength and leadership. Of the Nāgas alone 605 clans are counted along with their chiefs.[9] The prominent Nāgas assumed the direction and control of different quarters, acknowledging the authority of Nīla and living in peace with Vāsuki.[10] The known evolution of the family in kashmir, as elsewhere in India, reveals that kingship arose out of the patriarchal atmosphere prevailing in society.[11] As Nīla was the leading member of the seniormost family of the Nāgas and prominent for his bravery and leadership, he rose to the position of a king.[12]

THE CODE OF NĪLA
(*Nīlamata*)

The *Nīlamata Purāṇa* also suggest that kingship was closely connected with, though not originating from, his priestly office. It says that Nīla's instructions are to be followed to ensure peace and prosperity to the kingdom.[13] If these are violated, there would be misery and dreadful punishments to the people.[14] The new settlers are enjoined to follow a long list of rituals as prescribed by the Nāgas.[15] It appears that Nīla discharged some priestly functions and perhaps presided over some community sacrifices like the kings and magistrates in ancient

Egypt, Greece and Rome. He was the head of a community in which the heterogeneous elements were gradually fusing together. The caste-system had not yet emerged and even the Brāhmaṇas were required to follow the code of Nīla, laying down its elaborate ritual.[16]

SELECTION OF THE KING

All this tends to suggest that from the very beginning there was no tendency to make kingship hereditary. Considering the complexion of a patriarchal society and the tribal organisation, emphasis came to be placed more and more on selecting a chief who would be in a position to hold the heterogeneous elements together, leading to the emergence of a society where the rigours of a caste-bound hierarchy did not take deep roots. Further it was felt that to maintain the stability and prosperity of the kingdom the authority of the king is to be strengthened.[17] Nīla protected the state which constituted the mountain-dwellers, the Nāgas and the followers of Kaśypa.[18] Strictly speaking we cannot determine the caste of the first ruler. The caste system seems to have been gradually evolved with the immigration of people of various castes into Kashmir from Gandhāra and the plains of India. It did not, however, grow into a rigid system and kings did not belong exclusively to the Kṣatriya castes. The term Rājan was employed even for kings of the Kārkoṭās, the Utpalas and the Loharas who came from other castes. The process of acculturization of sturdy-tribes of the Nāgas, the Piśāchas, the followers of Kaśypa, and the para Military tribes like the Ḍāmaras, Tantrins and Ekāṅgas[19] loosened the bonds of caste-system, a characteristic feature of the Kashmir polity which persists to the close of the Hindu period in A.D. 1339. The looseness of caste may thus be accounted for by the inclusion of several foreign ethnic tribes in its social organisation. The distinction of Ārya and Mleccha became less pronounced and we find interchangeability in occupation-based social order. In this period, we find some non-Kṣatriyas ruling over the kingdom. It seems that the social rules loosely enforced weakened monarchy without inspiring much reverence for it.

CORONATION CEREMONY

The Coronation Ceremony (*abhiṣeka*) was of great significance and antiquity, dating back to the Vedic period. It was an important attribute of kingship and endowed the prince with the rank of a king or even of a *samrāṭ*. The coronation anniversary is referred to in the *Nīlamata purāṇa*.[20]

The inaugural ceremony was performed by the Brāhmaṇas and the priests with proper Vedic mantras sacred to God Saviṭri who should endow the king with energy and driving power, Brahmā with prosperous progeny, Rudra with ruling capacity and Varuṇa with the capacity to protect the Dharma.[21] This *Purāṇa*, like other sacred texts, emphasises that the preservation of the law is the most sacred duty of the king. The occasion was marked by the performance of a *lakṣahoma* and a *koṭihoma*[22] as prescribed by the *kalp-sutras* and *Atharva Veda*.[23] The whole city was decorated with festoons and flags and the royal highway cleaned and sprinkled with holy water. The Pauras, bathed and well-dressed, were auspicious garlands. To the accompaniment of musical instruments the city-magistrates, the prominent courtesans and the chiefs of the *gaṇas* repaired to the palace of the king.[24] The entire city and the route leading thereto were adorned by dancers and actors. The king then took a second bath,[25] following the one in his daily routine, with the ingredients of *Pañcagavya* (five milk and excreta products of the cow). He was bathed with water, milk, curd and purified butter poured from the pitchers of clay, copper, silver and gold; the chiefs of the śūdrās, the Vaiśyas, the Kṣatriyas, the Brāhmaṇas and of the *gaṇas* standing to the west, the south, the east and the north respectively. The association of all the sections of the society in the ritual may have been intended to secure a general acceptance of the new king by the community.[26] The occasion of the ceremonial bath was made pleasing with the trumpeting of musical instruments, conch-shells and singing by professional singers. Then the feudatories, with umbrelas and chowries in hand, gave one more bath to the king in proper order with clay etc. His limbs were purified by various kinds of clay obtained from the tops of hills, temples, tusks of elephants, horns of the bull. His waist and thinghs were purified with the clay obtained from the door of a Vaiśya and from a lotus-pond respectively. He then received another bath at the hands of the *pauras* with auspicious herbs, flowers, fruit, *Dūrva*, grass, *gorocana* paints (musk of the Yak) and sprouts. The Purohita, well dressed and seated on a *bhadrāsana* in front and all the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, chiefs of the Śūdras, leading courtesans and merchants anointed the king with the water of the different *tīrthas*. After his bath and anointment, the king offered worship to the gods. Having been crowned, garlanded, diademed, decorated, he received the auspicious forehead mark, made his last offering to *homa* and then honoured the Omniscient priest with bounteous *daksinā* and proclaimed *abhaya*[27] to the *Brāhmaṇas* and others assembled there. He next set free the animals sent to slaughter houses and persons in captivity except those guilty of aggravating the troubles of citizens. The family priest (*gṛhapurodhasā*) made the king sit on an auspicious and beautiful lion-throne covered with a tiger skin. Having worshipped the umbrella, the weapons and the arrays of elephants and horses, the *prakṛtis*[28] cast a look on him, holding auspicious objects in their hands. Mounting a bedecked elephant, the king gave away the accumulated riches. He went round the whole city and then entered his palace. He honoured the *sāmantas* and the *paura-mukhyas* (city-magistrates) with gifts of money and finally bade farewell to them.

The account in the *Purāṇa* agrees closely with the description of the coronation ceremony in the *Viṣṇu-dharmottara Purāṇa*.[29] The coronation anniversary confirms that the Vedic practices were still in vogue though slightly changed on account of the *Paurāṇic* tradition.[30] In all the stages of the ceremony of the bathing and anointing of the king people from different sections were closely associated with.

The *mahābhiṣeka* ceremony was elaborated with passage of time. Water was carried in golden pitchers. The son of the king came along with ministers and queens to receive the inauguration bath and was adorned with many jewels. The queen was seated on half of the throne.[31]

A typical coronation ceremony is described at length in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* were king Vikramāditya Harṣa of Ujjain deputes Mātṛgupta to rule over Kashmir. At Kambuva, the watch-station of Kramavarta, Mātṛgupta was received by ministers and the place was thronged by people. He was seated on a raised platform and the apparatus for coronation improvised. The place resounded with the confused noise of the people. With his face turned eastward on a golden throne, Mātṛgupta received the coronation bath from the assembled high officers of the State[32] and from the *Association of the Pauras*.

The ministers played an important role in the coronation rite[33] At the close of the ceremony, a king gave away bountiful gifts and then entered the city.[34] The coronation ceremony was also accompanied by some important policy statements.[35] A king of another kingdom after being defeated, received a fresh *abhiṣeka* as a tributary prince and was accordingly assigned a status thereafter.[36]

The account of the coronation ceremony in the *Nīlamata Purāṇa* and the references to the ritual ceremony in the *Rājataraṅginī* reveal that the coronation ceremony was a combination of the Vedic practices and the *Paurāṇic* rituals. The *mantras* uttered at the time of offerings made to *homa* wished for the prosperity of the ruler, the kingdom and the vigour of the king to protect his *rāṣtra*, the life and property of the city and the maintenance of the social order. The water poured from the golden pitchers and brought from different quarters along with the earth gathered from various directions indicated prosperity and a long rulership for the king. The presence of all the sections of people, the four social orders, the courtesans, officials etc. represented the unity of the country and hence they were associated with the *abhiṣeka* of the ruler from the beginning to the end.

ELECTION OF KINGS

Widely divergent opinions have been held as to whether kingship was elective in ancient India. Majumdar and Jayaswal have advanced arguments to show that monarchy continued to be elective in some states upto the eighth century A.D.[37] But Altekar maintains that the formality of the election had become antiquated in the Vedic period as in the vast majority of cases, kingship is seen to be hereditary even in the *Ṛigveda*. The later Vedic literature too refers to the hereditary character of kingship.[38] The evidence available from the Kashmir texts suggests that a well recognized system of selection of kings existed in Kashmir from very early times. Kṣemendra refers to the election of Supriya by the *Pauramukhyas*[39] and Kalhaṇa to the election of Saṁdhimat by the *Pauras*.[40] It would be implemented in practice when necessary. The king-makers (*rāja-kartāras*) exercised the right of selecting a king when the state was confronted with a serious crisis as in the case of Śūravarman II, a supposititious son of Unmattavanti (A.D. 937-939), who was forced to flee by his *Kampanādhipati* (Commander) Kamalavardhana who sought his own election as king at the hands of *dvijātīs* (*rājakartāras*).[41] Kalhaṇa no doubt mocks at the foolish Kamalavardhana for not ascending the throne in his own right but he does not question the validity of the Brāhmaṇa assembly's election procedure.[42] As Kamalavardhana was resisted by the Ekāṅgas, Tantrins, Sāmantas, Syālahāraka horsemen, he was forced to seek the consent of the Brāhmaṇa assembly and get himself elected.[43] He approached all the *dvijas* and canvassed them in his desire for the royal power, impliedly suggesting to them his own choice on the ground of being young, energetic, capable to protect his kingdom and a native of the soil. This indicates that the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas or *dvijapariṣad* was associated with the election of a king.

The history of *parśada* or *pariṣad*[44] dates back to the Vedic period. This *Pariṣad* was probably composed of at least ten (Brāhmaṇas), viz. "four men who have completely studied the Vedas, three men belonging to the three orders (a student, a householder and an ascetic), one who knows the Mīmāṁsā, one who knows the Aṅgas, and a teacher of the sacred law."[45] These men were to be "well-instructed, skilled in reasoning and free from covetousness." Its chief function was to advise the king on disputed and intricate matters of law. It was probably a general body of advisers on all matters, religious, political and judicial and in later times we definitely hear of its administrative functions as well.[46]

In Kashmir the *pariṣad* had a significant role in the state and society. In the above case of Kamalavardhana, the *vipraparișad* met in Gokul and debated the question of succession for about a week. The Brāhmaṇas are described as persons who have the necessary quality for choosing the fit person to rule.[47] The choice before them lay between Kamalavardhana and Śūravarman II, but they rejected them both in favour of Yaśaskara, a Brāhmaṇa of obscure origin.[48] The issue was debated for five or six days till the entire force of the *pāriṣadyas* (*i.e.* members of *parṣads* from different quarters) issued forth, carrying their paraphernalia and engaged themselves in a solemn fast (*prāya*).[49] Both Kamalavardhana and the wife of the parricide king should not have had any cause of anxiety had the power of choosing a king not belonged to the *pāriṣad-bala* (*Pāriṣadyas*). With one accord and not simply by a majority vote did the *Pāriṣadyas* vote for Yaśaskara and offered him the coronation ablutions.[50] The contention of Altekar that the *rajakṛits* and *rājakartāraḥ* were not king-electors but Brāhmaṇas entrusted with the function of a king's coronation[51] is not supported by our texts. The *rājadvijas* exercised both the powers of declaring a king and anointing him.[52] But they did not act arbitrarily. They made their choice in favour of a person who had the strength to protect the earth.[53] They looked to the qualities of kingship in him. Just as the highest peak of a mountain is sprinkled by rain, so was Yaśaskara by the Brāhmaṇas. Padma Udgaonkar[54] has dismissed this description as merely figurative. Perhaps she has taken *kṣmadhṛtipraudha-sāmarthya* as the adjective of *sānumāna*. The account is clear and there is no figure of speech. The expression *rājyārhān-veṣibhiviprail*[55] leaves no doubt that the *Pāriṣadyas* were considered competent to find out a suitable ruler and it was one of their main function. Yaśaskara could claim neither a noble lineage nor the effulgence befitting a king and yet the choice fell on him. The Brāhmaṇa understood the meaning of his vow to protect his subjects.[56] The choice of the person depended not on the majority -decision but on general agreement about the candidate's ability and suitability. And the rescript made by Brāhmaṇas did not invest the king with an absolute position and authority either. If he went astray, he could be deposed.[57]

Ministers in some cases are shown making a choice of a king.[58] Kalhaṇa narrates how the people and ministers together selected the illustrious Meghavāhana.[59] He adverts to the process of selection in the case of Mātṛgupta.[60] Sometimes the powerful ministers canvassed for their candidates with the people.[61] Kalhaṇa makes it clear that the obstacles created by the dissenting ministers were sought to be removed and the king was chosen by general agreement, as in the case of Durlabhavardhana succeeding Bālāditya, the last ruler of the Gonandīya dynasty. During the life-time of Bālāditya, Durlabhavardhana, the Master of the Cavalry (*aśvaghāsakāyastha*), had endeared himself to the people by his politic conduct, liberality, sharp intellect and cool judgment : qualities which eventually helped him in his selection to kingship.[62] Even powerful Lalitāditya indicated his preference in the case of succession to the throne and recounted to his ministers the merits of each candidate.[63] Had monarchy been accepted as hereditary, there was no point in issuing a directive to his council of ministers. The contention of Altekar that almost all the dynasties after C. 600 B.C. were passing the crown on the principle of heredity[64] is dot confirmed by our text. Nor is there any evidence to suggest that on a failure of heirs, the ministers and other high dignitaries necessarily elected a suitable successor from among the relations of the deceased king.[65] The accession of Avantivarman disproves the view of Altekar.[66] In the first Lohara dynasty Kalaśa's younger son Utkarṣa could not continue his reign beyond twenty-two days in the face of opposition from his brothers, respectable citizens and some hostile ministers on account of his miserly and injudicious conduct. The respectable citizens who did not approve of Utkarṣa's choice proposed that Harṣadeva be crowned king and the avaricious Khaśa (Utkarṣa) be turned out of the kingdom. They went to Harṣa and covered him with flowers. Utkarṣa was taken captive and Harṣa crowned king, of course, with the help of his brothers Vijayamalla, Jayarāja and their forces.[67] Thus we see that prominent citizens and ministers assuredly had a voice in the choice of the king. That their consent was not a mere formality becomes clear from the circumstance in which it ultimately led to the suicide of Utkarṣa. Succession by ministerial approval is of frequent occurrence and even when the people were closely associated with the election of the king, the ministers took precedence and guided the people in the selection of the king.[68] On the death of Avantivarman there was a struggle among the numerous descendants of the Utpala dynasty aspiring to the throne, which shows how the ministers could play a leading role.[69] There is no doubt that in practice monarchy had become by and large hereditary during our period, but the voice of ministers and *pauramukhyas* could not be all together ignored upto the last quarter of the eleventh century. Thus the opinion of Altekar that the very idea of the election of the king appeared totally strange to the historians of the twelfth century[70] is not supported by the evidence of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Though the rule of primogeniture was the operative principle, succession to the throne could be changed by the will of the people and nobody could lay claim to succession simply by virtue of their being heirs of past rulers. Kṣemendra, in the commentary parts of the *Nītikalpataru*, while referring to the qualities of the king, says : 'With all their efforts all the chiefs of the kingdom (*rāṣtramukhyas*) should unite and choose one a king who is righteous and of true mind.'[71] He refers to the king as *Mahāsaṁmata*,[72] as the one who is chosen by the people. We have some references indicating the procedure of voting followed in the Budhist Saṅgha but there is not a single reference anywhere in the extent ancient literature to give us an idea of the voting procedure followed in electing a king in ancient times. But an argument *ex-silentio* cannot be taken to imply that the principle of popular elective monarchy (*vox populi*) howsoever limited, did not operate.[73] People, ministers and *gaṇas* enjoyed considerable elective powers,[74] and their position in the coronation ceremony was decidedly higher than that of the other elements.[75] It is not, however, known what the constitutional status of these groups of people was.

The European concept of election was no doubt absent in India. But Kalhaṇa's account makes it clear that the democratic tendencies were more pronounced in Kashmir as compared to other parts to India. These traditions possibly existed since early times. Kalhaṇa gives instances showing how the ministers guided the people in chosing their ruler. The instance of a *Vipraparişad* electing Yaśaskara, a Commoner, shows how this body functioned. It seems that the practice varied according to the peculiarities of the case, but ministers generally took the lead. They possibly commanded the support of the people in their role of king-makers and as representing the popular interests. The queens also played their part in the choice of kings. Obviously power was diffused and hereditary kingship was not strictly speaking a legal claim of the successors to the throne. Jonarāja tells us that after the death of Jayasiṁha in A.D. 1155, "the indolent people anointed his son Paramāṇuka (Parmāṇḍi) to the throne of Kashmir."[76] With the end of the Second Lohara dynsty after the death of Varttideva in A.D. 1171 the citizens for want of worthy successor elected one named Vopyadeva (Vuppadeva) their king.[77] He was followed by his younger brother Jassaka who, much against his wishes, was anointed king by the Lavanyas.[78] It is not, however, known as stated above, what the constitutional status of these groups of people was.

ROYAL SUCCESSION
(*Training of the King*)

Kṣemendra has set forth a very high standard of kingship which, must have been rather difficult to attain. A king's glance is like a shower of nectar, his mind is the friend of nobility, he has tranquility to wipe off the evil propensities of anger, his forgiveness is a steadily flowing stream, his intellect is like a mother to those afflicted with pain, his riches are purified by the consecrated water of gifts, his words are set in truth; possessing these qualities he is the sole friend of the world.[79] The attributes ascribed to a king by Kṣemendra in his commentary of the *Nītikalpataru*[80] are the usual characteristics that find place in the writings of ancient political thinkers. What is significant is the emphasis he lays on the intellectual qualities that a king should possess; desire to learn, understand and reflect on what he has studied and thoroughly discussed. The possession of a 'spotless intellect' (*amalaprajñā*)[81] has been stressed and a major portion of the work is devoted to the discussion of intellectual qualities which are acquired by a thorough study of philosophy and practical administration.[82] The same qualities of the intellect (*dhī*) are enumerated by the *Kāmandakīyanītisāra*[83] and are parallell to those mentioned by Kauṭilya and Yājñavalkya. Kṣemendra and

Kalhaṇa, like Kāmandaka, regard liberality, truthfulness and valour as the three greatest qualities in a king.[84] Kṣemendra, in the third section of the *Nītikalpataru* and also in the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, illustrates with the help of ethical stories, the practical and philosophical learning the king is to acquire with assiduity. Of the two philosophical schools the king is advised to follow the oxthodox school headed by Advaita Vedānta, the heterodox school being unworthy of his study.[85] The study of logic and Vedānta is regarded as very essential and *Ānvīkṣiki*, therefore, occupies an important place in the education of the prince. It seems that the views of the first school prevailed and the education of the prince was regulated accordingly.

In the early stage of the evolution of kingship, physical prowess or leadership in war apparently played a prominent part.[86] The king is frequently compared to Indra in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* with a view to emphasizing his role as the mighty leader of the people in war.[87] The military functions of the king required that he should be well-built and strong, 'possessing the valour of gods in his body'.[88] Hence those who could not lead in war or were bodily deformed, diseased or disabled were excluded. The end of Mīhirākula, who immolated himself in the flames when he was afflicted with many diseases, implies that because of his bodily defects he could not make his authority effective. Possibly Mīhirākula could not defy public opinion, against a diseased king.[89] The legend of the Andha Yudhiṣṭhira and the way he was forced to leave his kingdom show how he was unacceptable on account of his 'small eyes' and the subsequent charge of having caused disorder in the kingdom.[90] The claim of Nirjitavarma, son of Sukhavarman, to be installed on the throne was set aside by the ministers on the ground of his being nick named *Paṅgu* (lame).[91] According to Manu and Yājñavalkya the impotent, outcastes, madmen, idiots, blind and those afflicted with incurable diseases were excluded from inheriting the throne.[92] And so were those who were low-born and poor.[93] With gradual transformation of society from a tribal to a settled kingdom, more and more emphasis came to be laid on the moral virtues of the king. We find a long list of the qualities a king is expected to possess as the Protector of his people.[94]

ELIGIBILITY OF WOMEN

The political thinkers generally did not approve of a woman coming to the throne.[95] Despite this disapprobation, Sugandhā, the widow of Śaṁkaravarman, at the request of the people, assumed royal power after her husband's lineage had died out.[96] Diddā, the wife of Kṣemagupta, who dominated the administration during the life time of her husband, cleared her way to the throne after killing the male claimants in the dynasty by A.D. 980. She was an exceptional woman who, for nearly half a century, directed and controlled the affairs of the kingdom, first as the queen of Diddakṣema and then as an independent ruler of the land.[97] She could hold her sway over the kingdom. Coins of Kṣemagupta[98] show that he ruled jointly with his chief Queen, Diddā.

It seems that princesses in the royal family were sometimes appointed to important administrative posts in the Revenue Department. They also functioned in some cases as the governors of important districts.[99] The cases of Śrīlekhā and Sūryamati suggest that the Queens had an important role in the administration of the kingdom and could force their husbands to abdicate in favour of a successor of their choice.[100] King Ananta possibly ruled jointly with his chief Queen, a practice that seems to have been followed in the South also.[101] Sūryamatī controlled the machinery of government and appointed the *Sarvādhikāra* (Prime-Minister) of her own choice.[102] The courtesan Sāmbavatī, the sweetheart of Pārtha, controlled the league of the Tantrin foot-soldiērs and got him restored to the throne.[103]

QUALIFICATIONS FOR KINGSHIP

Members of the Kṣatriya caste, under the *varṇāśrama* scheme, were considered most suited for kingship. But there are instances where kingship was acquired by other castes as well. Yaśaskara, a Brāhmaṇa of obscure origin, was chosen by the Brāhmaṇa Corporation.[104] Parvagupta rose to kingship from humble circumstances, his father being a mere clerk (*divira*).[105] Durlabhavardhana, the son of Nāga-kārkoṭā, inherited the kingdom through his wife, Anaṅgalekhā, the daughter of Bālāditya.[106]

Since Kāshmir received Buddhist influence for a considerable period, it seems to have been less strict in adhering to the restrictions of Varṇa dharma in respect of kingship being for Kṣatriyas alone.

SUCCESSION THROUGH MILITARY POWER

From the Utpala period onwards (A.D. 853) to the end of the Second Lohara dynasty (A.D. 1206), the possession of military power became the most effective means of attaining to kingship. The Taṇtrins, the Ekāṅgas and the Ḍāmaras (para-military tribes) wielded considerable influence in determining succession to the throne. Military might, accompanied by political intrigues, went a long way in securing the throne for a contending political faction. The attempts of Sugandhā (A.D. 904-906) to secure the throne for Nirjitavarman, a half-brother of Avantivarman, were frustrated by the Tantrins who got Pārtha, the child-son of Nirjitavarman, crowned by means of an open rebellion.[107] Another successful rebellion of the Tantrins got the throne for Cakravarman's half-brother, Suravarman I in A.D. 933-934. In another bid the Ḍāmaras succeeded in restoring Cakravarman, after having killed nearly five or six thousand Tantrins in battle and after the treacherous murder of Śambhuvardhana.[108] The advent of the Second Lohara dynasty in Kashmir and the enthronement of .Uccala were accomplished with the support the Ḍāmaras extended to him.[109] After the murder of Uccala, Gargacandra, the leading Ḍāmara of the Lāhora district, had crowned as king first Salhaṇa, a half-brother of Uccala and then Sussala, the brother of Uccala.[110] The Ḍāmaras and the troops acquired considerable military and political influence in determining succession till the accession of Jayasiṁha in A.D. 1128. With the weakening of the central authority, the different sections of the Ḍāmaras, aided by the rise of a number of pretenders, posed a grave threat to the security of the kingdom and made kings powerless in the matter of choosing their successors. In spite of Jassaka's unwillingness (A.D. 1180) to accept the responsibilities of the kingdom, the Lāvanyas crowned him solely with the object of increasing their chances of aggrandizement.[111] Unmattavanti and Yaśaskara in the tenth century entrusted respectively Śūravarman (a young child) and Varnaṭa to the care of their ministers, Ekāṅgas and sāmantas and got them consecrated.[112] Occasionally, over the question of succession the Tantrin foot-soldiers measured swords with the Ekāṅgas, and the ministers like Parvagupta indulged in most humiliating acts of treason, often wading through pools of blood to accomplish their own ends.[113] The Tantrin foot-soldiers who were in a position 'to favour or to punish kings'[114] during this period seem to have formed a confederacy.

COUNCIL OF REGENCY

In Kāshmir polity we find regents enjoying a great importance. When the heir-apparent was a minor at his succession, the administration was carried on by a council of regency. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* shows that usually the queen dowager presided over this council.[115] Sugandhā became the guardian of her son, Gopālavarman, in A.D. 902 before she assumed the reins of government.[116] Saṁgrāmadeva's grandmother headed the six-man council of regency in A.D. 948-949.[117] Kṣemagupta's child-son Abhimanyu became king under the guardianship of the ruthless Diddā (A.D. 958-972)[118] who governed the kingdom during the long minority period of her son and grandsons. The last grandson Bhīmagupta was tortured to death and then Diddā ascended the throne in A.D. 980.[119] Before her death she raised Saṁgrāmarāja, the son of her brother Udayarāja, to the rank of Yuvarāja.[120]

WOMEN ADMINISTRATORS

The texts on polity written during this period do not take any objection to women participating in active administration as regents, queens and administrators. Like the queens in south India they made land-grants on their own authority and functioned as governors of important fiscal units.[121] The *Kathāsaritasāgara* shows that princesses and queens possibly received considerable administrative and military training to equip them for various functions. Further the queens had their own treasures to be used by them.[122] An unusual feature of royal succession in Kashmir is the role of queens and the bearing of harem-politics on it. Queen Sugandhā lost her life in her bid to support Nirjitavarman, a grandson of Sūravarman and son of Sukhavarman, through the Tantrins who were the chief supporters of the ministers and officials.[123] King Ananta, exasperated by his wife's importunate demands and blind attachment for her unworthy son, Kalaśa, was forced to renounce his claim in favour of his son.[124] Sugandhā, Diddā and Sūryamatī are some of the ambitious queens who, for their personal ambitions, created a state of uncertainty in which Kashmir was ravaged by the para-military tribes, supporting one or the other group of ministers.

FRATRILINEAL SUCCESSION

Following the death of Vikramādityā, son of Rānāditya of the Gonanda race, his brother, Bālāditya succeeded to the throne.[125] There is nothing to show whether Vikramāditya had any son or not. The succession of three brothers, Candrāpīḍa, Tārāpīḍa and Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, one after another, following the death of their father, Durlabhaka Pratāpāditya II, does not help us in knowing whether the succession was actually from brother to brother, in the absence of any data regarding the male issues of the reigning monarchs at a particular time. Kalhaṇa does not give us any information either regarding the descendants of any three of them. But it seems unlikely that all of them should have had no sons of their own. Kalhaṇa mentions that Tārāpīḍa was guilty of fratricide which obviously implies that he might have had a brother, perhaps elder to him or equal in age, who set up a claim to the throne.[126] Similarly, in the succession of three brothers, Prithvīpīḍa, Saṁgrāmapīḍa and Jayāpīḍa-Vinayāditya, succeeding in order, following the death of their father Vajrāditya, we do not know whether their eldest brother, Tribhuvanapīḍa, had died earlier and why his son Ajitāpīḍa and Utpalapīḍa were not considered for succession,[127] though they figured in succession after Cippaṭāditya, the gradson of Jayāpīḍa-Vinayāditya had been killed.[128] We know, therefore, that Tribhuvanapīḍa had a son and given the assumption that a younger brother does not marry before the elder, we still have the succession on a fratrilineal basis. In the Utpala dynasty Gopālavarmana was succeeded by his brother, Saṁkata.[129] Diddā excluded the eldest son of her brother, Udayarāja and raised his younger son to the rank of a Yuvarāja.[130] The temporary exclusion of Harṣa by his younger brother Utkarṣa[131] was due more to political intrigue than to any other cause of disputed succession. Salhaṇa,[132] a half-brother of Uccala, succeeded to the throne for about a year when he was overthrown by Sussala, the brother of Uccala. Although in the post-Utpala period succession was mostly governed by intrigues and political assassination, there is evidence of succession from brother to brother.

During the turbulent period of the Second Lohara dynasty the succession is again from brother to btother. Uccala's throne was threatened by an unsuccessful invasion of Sussala from Lohara. In the end he fell a victim to a palace-revolution headed by Chuḍḍa, the City-Prefect and was cruelly murdered (A.D. Dec. 8, 1111).[133] The throne passed to Salhaṇa, his half-brother who, after a nominal rule of four months, was overthrown by Sussala. The king had his two step-brothers, Salhaṇa and Loṭhaṇa, imprisoned in the castle of Lohara were the soldiers garrisoning the castle made a great coup. In the absence of the Commander of the watch-station, the soldiers had Loṭhaṇa set free and crowned king of Lohara (his elder brother Salhaṇa having died in the meantime).[134] Leaving aside the tumultuous political alignments of the period, it is strange that the pretenders and their supporters should be either brothers or half-brothers and not the sons of reigning monarchs. It is difficult to presume that all the reigning monarchs had no male issues and the struggle for succession was therefore confined to brothers alone. It is clear that the law of primogeniture was not always zealously followed and that succession from brother to brother was not unknown. How otherwise are we to explain the unstable position of Jayasiṁha after the murder of his father Sussala and his attempt to recover Lohara from Loṭhaṇa.[135] After the death of Vuppadeva (A.D. 1180) the throne was inherited by his brother Jassaka who, according to Jonarāja, 'proved to be a still greater dunce than his stupid brother'.[136] From this also it is evident that the claim of a younger brother, although mentally deficient, could not be easily set aside. Following the death of their father, when a Purohita had incapacitated the ruling elder brother with injurious drugs (*dravya*), the younger one obtained the throne. And when the elder brother recovered, the younger one had to give back the throne to him.[137]

DVAIRAJYA

The practice of sharing sovereign power seems to owe its origin to the Scythian influence. The term *dvairājya*, on the basis of evidence in the *Mālavīkāgnimitram*, has been interpreted by S. Levi as referring to a form of government which must necessarily indicate the dominance of a foreign power.[138] But it is a well known practice in Hindu polity that sometimes two princes divided a kingdom or held joint authority over it[139] without destroying the organic unity of the state.

The earliest reference to this practice is found in the reign of Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka II who must have ruled simultaneously, most probably as co-regents of the different parts of Kashmir which formed a part of their kingdom.[140] During the first Lohara dynasty when political treason and intrigue had undermined the stability of the kingdom, Anantadeva (A.D. 1028-1063) was the king of Kashmīr and his brother Kṣitipati the king of Lohara.[141] Harṣa divided the regal power with his brother, Vijayamalla.[142] Prince Sussala, brother of Uccala, was installed in *adhirājya* (*addharājji*) to rule separately in the territory dependent on Lohara.[143] When Salhana and Loṭhana shared the pleasures of the throne, perhaps in joint regency, the country was subjected to brigandage and in the metropolis robbers plundered the people in broad daylight.[144]

Dvairājya was not, however, recognized as a normal form of government. Kalhaṇa and Kṣemendra both have deprecated the system and held it to be a source of political troubles, ministers and feudal chiefs acting as thieves and treasury depleted, aggravating the troubles of the ruler.[145] Joint regency over two halves of the kingdom has, therefore, not met with general approval.[146] And yet the constitutional experiment with its drawbacks continued in Kashmir down to the time of Jayasiṁha.[147]

THE DIVINITY OF KINGS

Kashmir, unlike other states of India, did not have the sway of religious ideas conducive to the growth of the notion of the divinity of kings. The complexion of a heterogeneous society comprising the Nāgas, Piśācas and Kaśyapa's followers prevented the emergence of the doctrine of divinity. The *Nīlamata Purāṇa* refers to the earliest settlement of the tribes and the necessity felt for obeying the commands of the Nāga Chief as the head of the state.[148] In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* too we find Lord Kṛṣna silencing the opposition of. the Brāhmaṇas when installing the widowed queen of Dāmodara on the throne.[149] In both the instances the Brāhmaṇas, as the selectors of kings, are reminded of the dangerous consequences following the disruption of political authority and hence a religious sanction is invoked to exact obedience to the commands of the rulers from the bulk of the given community. Lord Śiva is looked upon as the embodiment of Universal love and prosperity and so the king too, like him, is considered to remove the misery of the people. In the case of the Nāga Chieftain his authority is sanctified by referring to Kashmir as the holy land of Pārvatī and its ruler, as born of a portion of Śiva. In the other instance the grumbling ministers are made to look upon Yaśovatī as the mother of her subjects, noble and pure like the goddess Pārvatī, the consort of Śiva, and hence worthy of their respect and obedience. There is one more instance where the Ḍāmara followers of a king proclaimed their ruler an Avatāra but failed to win him the allegiance of the feudatories and other vassals.[150] All these instances reveal that in the early societies religion was considered to be one of the best devices to secure the obedience of the people to the commands of the king and respect for political authority. There is nothing to suggest that God took an active part in ordaining or consecrating a king.

A few passages in some texts refer to the king as a *parama-maheśvara* or as an *avatāra* of Rāma.[151] But these are the panegyrics of court poets in praise of their patrons. There is no title like *devaputra* or grandiloquent titles of *paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Śāhānuśāhī*, *parmadaivata* etc. to emphasize the divinity of the rulers. Whatever ideas of divinity there might have been in earlier periods, they do not receive any emphasis in our period, although the righteous king has been compared with Viṣṇu and Indra.[152] Kalhaṇa and other writers refer to a king by his ordinary titles *rājan*, *mahīpāla*, *Kṣmāpāla* etc.

The Gilgit Manuscript expresses the Budhist point of view; One passage in it says : 'They (monks and nuns or devotees) will be re-born in the world of gods and after having a fall from heaven, become either sovereigns (*Cakravarti*) and protect crores of human beings or take part in tens of good works.[153] It is implicit in this passage that a king would function like a god and exert himself for the welfare of his subjects who owed allegiance to him. Here as also in the Vedas the evidence shows that the gods or monks became kings and not that the kings became gods. The king acquires the vitality of a god by virtue of his righteousness and austerity. It is the functional divinity of a king that earns for him the reverence of his subjects and sometimes on account of his illustrious achievements he is described as excelling the members of the Trinity.[154] What is emphasised in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and other literary sources is the spotless *karma* of individuals and kings. There is no evidence of hereditary divinity. What we find is only a comparison with the gods. According to Kṣemendra, a king possesses the attributes of *Dikpālas* (Indra, Varuṇa, Kubera etc.).[155] On account of these attributes the king is led on to the path of righteous conduct and is restrained from inconstancy which stabilises the supremacy of the kingdom. If he goes astray, the *Dikpālas* are annoyed with him and even the subjects can depose him. This leads us to the conclusion that the king is set on the path of virtue and righteousness because of his functional resemblance with the different guardian deities. Unlike Manu, Kṣemendra does not subscribe to the view that the king is created from the essential parts taken from Indra, the Wind God, Yama, the Sun, Agni, Varuṇa, the Moon and Kubera.[156] The king simply represents the elements of the eight guardian deities, but he is not an incarnation of these.[157] Otherwise, how could he be deposed ? To contain the particles of other gods does not imply being a god one self or assuming divinity through incorporation.

It was a current belief that a virtuous king can even subdue gods.[158] Kalhaṇa says that when king Meghavāhana who followed the way of the Ṛṣis died, 'the whole world was as if deprived of the sun and light'.[159] It was the faith in the virtue of kings which spontaneously evoked admiration and comparison with the pantheon. Kṣemendra strikes a comparison of Indra's lordship over heaven with that of an earthly king.[160]

There are many passages in the *Rājataraṅginī* where virtuous and mighty kings have been likened to Indra, e.g. Durlabha, Lalitāditya, Kuvalyapīḍa, Saṁkaravarman etc. and a host of others.[161] There is no passage to suggest that kingship was due to the will of the Supreme Deity, although we do find passages suggesting that the king shared the majesty, brilliance, valour, victoriousness, liberality and control of the different deities. The king is recognised as an exalted being, performing functions similar to those of several gods. The functional divinity was not exclusive to kings alone; even men of low birth could lay claim to it.[162] Kingship was considered to be divine by ideal, not by birth. The king devotes himself to *tapas* to make his subjects pure and Brahmā establishes the order of *tapas* to ensure purity of conduct.[163] In all secular literature the emphasis is on achieving the ideal of kingship. It was this *dhārmic* concept which legitimised the supremacy of the king over his subjects and imparted unity to the state and the society. He did not receive the object and obsequious adoration accorded to kings in some other civilisations. Harṣa's (A.D. 1089-1101) ideas, for intance, agreed in certain matters with those of Caligula, but unlike the Roman emperor, he did not claim any divinity for himself.[164] A cruel and rapacious king was regarded Yamarāja (*Prajāntaka*).[165] But the commands of kings who truthfully keep to their duty cannot be disregarded by Indra, Brahmā and the helpless Yama.[166]

DUTIES OF THE KING

Kalhaṇa, Kṣemendra, and Ratnākara repeatedly address the king as an eartly Indra, *mahīpāla*, *Kṣmāpala*, *mahibhṛta*, etc.[167]

and say that the first duty of the king is protection (pālana).[168] As Indra slays Rākṣasas, the king is called kṣatriya because he protects his subjects from every kind of wound (kṣata) inflicted upon them by the aggressor. According to Kalhaṇa ; 'blessed are those rulers who sleep at night in happiness, having before seen their citizens in comfort everywhere, as if they were their own children'.[169] The king is the life of his subjects[170] and his mind is ever occupied with plans for the kindly protection of his people.[171] In his commentary parts of the *Nītikalpataru*, Kṣemendra mentions that the king prossesses the majesty and splendour of Viṣṇu for protecting his subjects. He is the root of the tree of *prajā* and on his protection depends the prosperity of the kingdom.[172] A king who fails to do so and oppresses his subjects is consumed by fire.[173] Such kings perish together with their descendants, whereas royal fortune attends those who repair what has been destroyed.[174] In the legendary account of Meghavāhana we have a sharp contrast of two kings, presumably of the same dynasty, one of whom indulged in orgies of cruelty and the other extended his protection to all his subects, making no special allowance even for the Brāhmaṇa's sacrifies.[175] The king protects his people from thieves,[176] robber-bands and secures roads for travellers. The neighbouring rulers are held in check by his prudent policy.[177] The king censors, fines or executes the man who transgresses the royal commands and puts down criminals.[178] People enjoy protection under a righteous king have no miseries.[179] He looks after his country as a householder after his house.[180] He holds down the wicked and sustains the good and gives fearlessness to all.[181] Although unable to ward off natural calamities, he still assures the Elders of the Paura that he will try to account for the afflictions of the people.[182] Kalhaṇa tells us that with the coronation of Jayasiṁha the drought, the pestilence, burglaries and other afflictions came to an end.[183]

The king supports the miserable, the poor, the helpless and the afflicted.[184] He must protect his subjects against stupid servants who are talkative like assess, *amātyas* who are miserly, deceitful and sharp-tongued, Kāyasthas who ware peevish and brazen-faced. He exterminates the various trouble-makers (*kaṇṭaka*) and frees the country from obstacles to its prosperity.[185]

He attains intense power chiefly by removing the obstructions of enemies, just as the rays of the sun attain power on getting free of clouds.[186] He becomes a jewel (*rājaratna*) like the vine that attains greater sweetness as it grows to maturity.[187] King Yaśaskara is said to have held the officials in check.[188] The king is to protect his subjects from the fearful calamity of famine and to feed them with his own treasure and the accumulated riches of the ministers since it was held that a famine is caused mainly by the unrighteous conduct of the king and his ministers.[189] When distressed by a famine or similar grave calamity people were free to leave for another country.

The king was considered to be dear to his subjects as he increases the prosperity of the kingdom and sustains his subjects.[190] Kalhaṇa says that the primary duty of kings is the protection of their subjects as devotion to their husbands is the duty of wives and faithfulness the duty of ministers.[191] The king is to have compassion for all living creatures and is to give equal protection to all.[192] King Avantideva brought about the dawn of *Kṛta* and protected the land like Māndhātṛ.[193] The king takes the form of Indra to crush the evil-doers and even the sea is agitated by his influence[194] and the *ṛṣīs* too cannot curse him.[195]

PATRONAGE OF BRAHMANAS

Brāhmaṇas are regarded as superior to all *varṇas*[196] and are particularly commended as the object of a king's care from whom they receive gifts and endowments.[197] They were profusely provided with *agrahāras*, skins of black antelopes, cows with calves and other presents.[198] Kalhaṇa tells us that Harṣa was very liberal and 'showered gold about' and adorned men of learning with 'jewels'. Even beggars could support others just as the clouds through the aid of the ocean refresh all beings.[199] The king gives spotless brightness to the royal fortune by his liberality.[200] Wise Anantadeva surpassed even the Munīs by his liberality, moral and other virtues.[201] The suppliants are satisfied with the gifts of riches.[202] The didactic *Avadānakalpalatā* gives many illustrations to show that a king readily and willingly surrendered even the dearest things for the sake of his people.[203] Kṣemendra states that even gods follow the virtuous king who is the repository of humility and devoted noble deeds and bestower of large gifts.[204] He is a heavenly tree for all suppliants.[205] Kane, on the authority of Āpastamba, says that only the learned Brāhmaṇas were eligible for gifts.[206] But the *Rājataranginī* informs us that even the lowest of the twice-born accepted *agrahāras* from the king.[207]

The king also performs the duty of *bhūbharṇa* (maintenance of the earth) and *bhūbhojana* (enjoyment of the earth).[208] He is referred to as the 'eater' or 'enjoyer' of his kingdom.[209] An analogy is drawn between the king and a husband. The latter has the right to the physical and other satisfactions which his faithful wife can provide, the king also has a right to the tributes and taxes of his obedient subjects in return for their care and maintenance of the wife and the kingdom respectively. Bilhaṇa and others refer to kings 'gaining the seagirt earth as a bride'.[210]

PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC FEASTS AND FESTIVITIES

A king looks at his *rāṣtra* as a father looks after his children.* People can sustain themselves in the kingdom as children do in the house of their father.[211] The kings receive wealth when they devote themselves to the satisfaction of their subjects.[212] The citizens celebrate many festivals and the king willingly shares with them his treasure, clothing, jewellery and other valuables.[213] The kings who protect their subjects are happy and busy themselves with hundreds of marriage feasts, sacrifices, pilgrimages and other great festivities[214] on which they distribute their largesse. Uccala, on the monthly reception days, at Indra festivals and on other occasions presented riches to those soldiers who joined in single combats.[215] But a king who is a mine of bad deeds, oppresses his subjects in the same way as the sharp rays of the moon dry a lotus.[216]

**Note* : The king bears the burden of the earth on his arm like *bhujañga* (*AKL* 20.2).

UPHOLDER OF VARNASKAMA-DHARMA AND DISPENSAR OF JUSTICE

The preservation of *Varṇāśrama-dharma* was one of the important duties of the state.[217] The king protects the *dharma* of the society[218] and provides the optimum conditions for the growth and spiritual development of the individuals in it. Jayanta Bhaṭṭa calls the king Śaṁkaravarman 'the Preceptor of the traditions of *Varṇāśrama-dharma*.'[219] He is regarded as one who knows the essence of *dharma* (*dharmatatvajña*)[220] and enforces it ruthlessly and impartially by means of *daṇḍa*.[221] He is a *Varṇāśramaguru*.[222] In the Kali age, the *dharma* of the society is restored from degeneration by noble-minded kings. This is the refrain of Kalhaṇa's historical *Kāvya*, *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, throughout. The King's care for all castes and orders brings back the first *yuga* (the Age of Gold) and the king repairs to the 'world of the pious to enjoy the ripe fruit of good deeds'.[223] The king is to protect the laws of *varṇa* and *āśrama* in the benighted Kali *yuga* when the challenges of heterodoxy and the infiltration of diverse ethnic groups and social groups threaten the established order of society.[224] The king proclaims laws and regulations according to the instructions laid down by the righteous kings of ancient times.[225] The Hegelian concept of a supernatural state is foreign to Indian thought. The *dharma* that the king protects includes the *dharma* of tribes, castes and clans. The king provides the framework of material comfort for his subjects and fosters the development of spiritual merit. The aim of *Varṇāśramadharma* was to prevent confusion of class-functions corresponding to the ideas of justice outlined in Plato's *Republic* and the views of Aristotle in his *Politics*.[226]

As a natural corollary to it, the king was required to be stern in the administration of justice, otherwise *dharma* will perish.[227] He was to be equitable towards litigants and give decision uninfluenced by avarice. When a man did not feel satisfied with a decision, the king was to review it. He acted according to the sacred texts and usages with the help of his ministers and learned Brāhmaṇs and dealt out punishment proportionate to the offence.[228] The king was required to restore all the *pādas* of *dharma* and show the way of justice to his people, to kill the demons of injustice and revive the true usage in the administration of justice.[229] King Candrāpīḍa is represented as the supreme judge and like the son of *Kṛtavīrya* (Arjuna) is praised for having restored the *Kṛta* yuga and promoting the happiness of the different castes.[230] King Uccala is described as another Anūru who dispels darkness and makes the judges careful ; he is wise like Manu.[231] He is to be neither very harsh in giving punishment nor is to forgive anyone. He is to carry on the administration in accordance with the instructions laid down in the treatises on polity.[232] It is said that only the kingdom where the red-eyed *Daṇḍa* punishes the evil-doer, will be prosperous and happy.[233]

MILITARY FUNCTIONS

Another important ideal for a king was universal conquest.[234] If the military prestige of a king becomes extinct the appellation *Pratāpa Cakravartin* altogether withers away.[235] He subdues his enemies with his physical prowess and *nīti*. Sivasvāmin says that the goddess of fortune treading with soft steps on the road covered with clotted blood does not follow a person who takes to flight from the battle-field.[236] Aversion to battle destroys the grandeur of a king.[237] There are examples of kings who followed this ideal. Literary, numismatic and epigraphic evidence confirms the extensive conquests made by the Kārkoṭa ruler Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa.[238] Jayāpīḍa emulated his grandfather and collected a large army 'for conquest upto the horizon'.[239]

BUILDING ACTIVITIES

The king was the patron of temples and religious instructions. His building activities included the pious foundations of temples and *maṭhas* and the endowment of *maṭhagrahāras*. Kings, ministers, queens, merchants, etc. earned religious merit by establishing shrines and *vihāras* which even in their ruined state bear testimony to the development of architecture and art,[240] in Kashmir. Of special interest are the alms-house (*sattra*) where indigent people would come to receive food,[241] *maṭhas* for students from *Āryadeśa*,[242] *maṭhas* for the blind (*andha-*

maṭha),[243] Didda's *vihāras* for Kashmiris and *Daiśekas*,[244] Rānāditya's hospital (*ārogyaśālā*) for healing the sick and warding off the dangers of his queen, Senāmukhī,[245] Kālambī hospice (*Janāśrya*) for the accommodation of people,[246] poor-houses (*daridraśālā*),[247] and Pañcasattra.[248] The Indo-Scythian rulers introduced the practice of establishing permanent endowments (*akṣya-nīvi*) for feeding hundreds of Brāhmaṇas and others.[249] The numerous temples, *vihāras*, *mathāgrahāras* etc. established by the rulers will make a very long list.[250] Every religion had an opportunity to prosper, though there are instances also of religious persecution[251] and the destruction of *vihāras* by the rulers.[252]

PATRON OF ARTS AND LETTERS

The king was courteous to ascetics. A royal court adorned by ascetics is described as resembling the assembly of Śiva. Philosophical discussions were organised in royal courts.[253] Important issues like the growth of heterodox elements in the society and even matters of political import were debated in such gathering.[254]

The king was a patron of the learned men and poets. He honoured them with jewels, silken clothes, riches etc.[255] Scholars went to the Sabhā in vehicles worthy of kings and received great fortunes and honours. They enjoyed the privilege of using horses, parasols etc.[256] Muktakaṇa, Śivasvāmin, Ānandavardhana and Ratnākara adorned the court of Avantivarman.[257] Lalitāditya brought Vākapatirāja, Bhavabhūti and other poets to his kingdom after Yaśovarman's defeat.[258] Jayāpīḍa revived the literary tradition of the land and restored the study of Mahābhāṣya. Ajītapīḍa patronised Śaṅkuka who was 'like a moon over the ocean of learned minds.'[259] Harṣa was a veritable *kalpavṛkṣa* to the artist and literary men. He adorned them with jewels.[260] Kalaśa introduced the taste for choral songs (*upāṅga-gīta*) and a careful selection of female dancers.[261] A dancing hall (*nāṭyamaṇḍapa*)[262] sometimes served as the place of confinement for princes of aesthetic tastes. The king witnessed and patronised dramatic performances to appreciate the skill of the playwright.[263] He participated in *Madanotsava*.[264]

The king must have been a connoisseur of fine arts and literary aptitudes to enjoy the company of talented aritists and scholars.[265]

The king made provision for many facilities for his people. Like Indra who breaks the clouds into pieces and releases water to flow in the form of rivers, the king made proper arrangements for irrigation through canals, dams etc. and thus showered wealth or general prosperity on his kingdom.[266] Avantivarman was the *Māndhātṛ* of the *Mahābhārata* fame.[267] His merits got for him Suyya, the Lord of Food (*annapati*) who gave fresh life to the people by his dredging operations of the *vitastā* and irrigation works.[268] The king is described as *Kṣmāvṛṣā* for he promotes the prosperity of the kingdom like an ox who does so by driving the plough.[269] The care of birds and wild life equally drew his attention for which a prohibition was enforced through the ministers.[270]

The king kept his finger on the pulse of the people. He was sensitive to public opinion. The spies informed him about the causes of disaffection or of the migration of the people to another kingdom following the oppression of the ministers or of the king[271] The king himself travelled through the whole kingdom, examining into the evil and the good of his subjects.[272] The spies kept a watch on the activities of his own people and of strangers. It is said figuratively that to Kalaśa only the dreams of his subjects remained unknown.[273] Kalhaṇa exhorts the king to restore contentment, happiness and stability to the kingdom which was licked by the five-fold calamities of the Kāyastha, the cadets of the ruling house, ordinances, ministers and hunger-strikes.[274] This suggests that the ideal of kingship was not always attained in practice, though by and large, the rulers conformed to the code of social ethics.

PATERNALISTIC ASPECT

In accordance with the traditions of *Dharma* the king's relationship to his subjects is rather that of father than that of a god.[275] He tried to increase the prosperity of his kingdom and bring up his subjects like children.[276] Kalhaṇa, Kṣemendra and other writers emphasize the importance of the paternalistic aspect of the king's duties. He is compared to a sandalwood tree.[277] Kṣemendra in his poetic style says that a king looks pleasing if his ears are beautified by *Sāstras* and not by ear-rings ; his hands shine by charity and not by gold ; his body glows by doing good to others and not by sandal-wood ; the external decorations befit the worldly people and not the noble minded.[278] He is likened to the moon that delights his subjects and the sun who with his majesty and splendour ensures prosperity. He is described as the one who is devoted to the uplift of all the living organism.[279] The king (*rājan*) can justify his kingship by pleasing his subjects. This involves many responsibilities and obligations on the part of the king.

The idea underlying it is that the king was regarded as a great benefactor of mankind. The ideal king was not merely a great warrior, but also a cultured, noble and dutiful king. Like a father he was expected to possess the virtues of suffering sacrifice and renunciation.

The paternal attitude of the state is only an expression in picturesque form of the wish that benevolence should characterize the relations of the state to the subject. It underlines the indissoluble nature of the ties uniting the subject and the state.[280] He is said to nurse his people like a *Vaidya* and is described as a fine soothing drug.[281] Kṣemendra, however, admits that a king who recognises benevolence, is simple, protector, of good disposition, and intensely devoted to duty, is found only with the coincidence of Fate or righteousness.[282]

Both Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa emphasize the role of spotless *karma* in a king's being meritorious or devoted to works of piety and public welfare.[283] With the Buddhists the ideal of kingship was the same as that of the Hindus and the virtues or vices of the kings were closely identified with those of their subjects. The king being regarded as the father of his people and the husband or lord of the earth, the concept of the organic relationship between the king and his kingdom was strongly emphasized. Hence the king, the land, the flora and fauna, the weather and even the fortunes of the subjects and the ruler were mysteriously interlinked and the inter-relation of the king's conduct and the welfare of the kingdom was believed to be much deeper than was obvious. A king's personal conduct, private virtues or vices were thought to have an unseen effect on the whole order of livings being under his control. The *Avadānakalpalatā* highlights this fundamental and central aspect of monarchy.

RIGHTEOUS AND UNRIGHTEOUS KINGS

Kalhaṇa extols the virtues of kings who are sincerely devoted to *Dharma*. Rānāditya is looked upon as the Rāma of Raghu race.[284] Candrapīḍa Kārkoṭa, Avantivarman and others busied themselves in acts of public welfare and Yaśaskara's benign administration relieved the distress of his subjects.[285] King Ananta's learning and good conduct were widely reputed. He was a mighty conqueror but modest to all.[286] Uccala has been described 'wise like Manu', of virtuous conduct and another Anūru (charioteer of the Sun).[287] Harirāja, is said to have cleaned the land of thieves and prohibited the closing of doors in the market-street at night.[288] The citizens and kings were considered to be equal partners in public celebrations.[289]

Some queens were no less glorious. They combined love with tenderness, cheerful speech with dignity, cleverness with experience.[290]

Kalhaṇa is unsparing in his denunciation of the unrighteous kings under whom the subjects suffer most. The appearance of such rulers is attributed to the theory of *karma* and a strong belief and trust in Providence. The texts from Kashmir describe how the subjects are punished for their sins by the visitation of unforeseen calamities brought about by evil minded kings, resembling gods of death and Vetāla. If a virtuous king could strike a comparison with Indra, a wicked ruler could not escape comparison with the gods of death etc. Tārāpīḍa, the younger brother and successor of Candrāpīḍa, was a monster of cruelty who, on account of fratricide and treacherous conduct, ultimately fell a victim to the machinations of the Brāhmaṇas whom he had oppressed and used against his elder brother.[291] Vajrāditya, alias Bappiyaka, was a contrast to his good natured brother, Kuvalyapīḍa 'the moon of his subjects,' and is compared to Durvāsas of the *Purāṇas* for his misdeeds and licentious character. He infringed Dharma, sold many men to the *Mlecchas* and finally ended his life by consumption, resulting from excesses in sexual enjoyment.[292] His son Prithvīpīḍa fared no better. He tormented his subjects during the brief period of his rule.[293] Lalitāpīḍa, the son of Jayāpīḍa, was a slave to his passions and did not attend to his regal duties. The kingdom became a prey of courtesans and the riches accumulated by his father were squandered on buffcons and the like.[294] Then followed in succession a series of rulers, Saṁgrāmapīḍa II, Cippaṭajayāpīḍa, Ajitāpīḍa, Anaṅgapīḍa and Utpalapīḍa, who could not give a stable administration to their subjects and the kingdom was torn by official intrigues. In Śaṁkaravarman's reign the people had a bad time and, at the instigation of the Kāyasthas, they were crushed by a heavy burden of taxation 'breathing being the only vital function remaining for men.' Pārtha ruined his subjects. But these demons of kings offered a strange contrast to Tuñjīna, Candrāpīḍa and other protectors of the people. Unmattāvanti[295] (the mad Avanti) was a parricide who consumed his paternal family just as 'the kind of fire called Aurva consumes the water.' He indulged in acts of senseless cruelty, wanton licence and revolting sports, his chief minister and other associates of perverted tastes keeping him amused in the royal assembly. Yaśaskara exposed himself to the odium and censure for having violated the *Varṇāśrama dharma.* Kṣemagupta, the son of cruel Parvagupta, took fiendish pleasure in drinking bouts and sexual enjoyment,[296] and acquired the nickname *Diddakṣema.* King Ananta's fondness for foreign luxuries and attachment for jesters involved him in heavy debts and for a time the royal diadem was held as security for his debts which Queen Sūryamatī who able to redeem by surrendering the savings of her own treasury to Padmarāja, a foreign trader.[297] His son Kalaśa fared no better. He also came under the influence of depraved and licentious parasites and Turuṣka women. 'The dissolute king in his cruelty disregarded all rules of honourable conduct and in depravation of character sank to the level of animals and indulged in sexual intercourse with his son's wives'.[298] Harṣa, the son of Kalaśa, was an admixture of self opposing elements ; cruel and kind-hearted, liberal and greedy, self willed and supine, murderous and sinful and yet devoted to works of piety.[299] He oppressed the land.

From the second Lohara dynasty onwards the ideal of kingship sank into vice. Weak kings held the royal sceptre and allowed other elements to dominate them. The whole period down to the end of the Hindu rule in A.D. 1339 was characterized by factious spirit, treason and treachery. The kings of this period, with a very few exceptions, led a life of dissipation and insipidity. The misrule of the kings led to inefficiency and incompetence in administration. Salhaṇa, a half-brother of Uccala (A.D. 1111-1112), for example, had "neither political wisdom nor valour, neither cunning nor straightforwardness, neither liberality nor greed." He along with his brother Loṭhana passed his days in low sensual pleasures, while 'robbers plundered the people in his very palace even at midday.' Eventually he was captured and imprisoned. Citizens and Ḍāmaras welcomed Sussala while Chuḍḍa, Gargachandra's wife presented him with two daughters.[300] Instances of vicious rulers could be multiplied to show that ideal kingship was not always attained in practice.

But Kalhaṇa and others do not justify the misrule and viciousness of the rulers on the ground that they were born to the purple or destined to enjoy the earth.

WAS MONARCHY LIMITED

The moral right of a rebellion was not generally granted even against a cruel and abusive king. But other restraints were provided to correct an oppressive ruler. It was said that *Daṇḍa* would strike down a wicked king and deprive him of his kingdom. For causing unjust suffering to his people king Jayāpīḍa incurred great sin and was brought in confrontation with the Brāhmaṇas 'whose *daṇḍa* fell upon him and made him sink into the worst of hells.[301] In extreme cases of oppression, as for instance, the slaughter of living beings on a large scale, Kalhaṇa recommends the assassination of a king[302] in an uprising by the people. Thus it seems that people sometimes did depose or assassinate their rulers.

The most effective instrument for restraining an oppressive king was a hunger-strike (*prāya* or *prāyopaveśa*) started by the

Corporation of Brāhmaṇas (*parṣads*). Their members were called *pāriṣadyas* who enjoyed the revenues of the *agrahāras* (land bestowed by the kings) as a collective body.[303] Proceeding on the assumption that a king could not easily disregard its decisions,[304] these corporations may be regarded as autonomous bodies big enough to influence the social and political institutions of the time. The surrender of fiscal and administrative rights to these corporations contributed to the power and influence of these landed beneficiaries. In judging the character and function of these *parṣads*, one has to examine the methods they used to achieve their object. They appear in the city, fasting and bringing with them the sacred images and other articles of their shrines.[305] The whole *parṣad* doing *prāya* simultaneously and in the presence of images of the gods[306] must have exercised an effective check on the arbitrary powers of the king and government officials. *Prāya* was a moral right of the individuals recognized by the state which appointed a number of officials (*Prāyopaveśādhikṛta*)[307] to observe the person on fast and report to the king about such incidents of voluntary starvation. When Tikka had plundered the *agrahāra* of Aksosuva, the Brāhmaṇas of that place observed a solemn fast against the king followed by similar hunger-strikes in Vijayeśvara and Gokula.[308] Against the unjust exactions of Harṣa, the members of the Brāhmaṇa corporation (*pariṣadyas*) by a solemn fast induced him to grant the brāhmaṇas exemption from the forced carriage of loads (*rūḍhabhāroḍhi*).[309] Against the failure of the central authority to check the depredations and destruction of stores by the Ḍāmaras, the exasperated brāhmaṇas held solemn fasts and immolated themselves in fire.[310] Another *prāya* was organized at Avantipura against Citraratha whose contumelious behaviour forced many brāhmaṇas sacrifice their bodies in the blazing fire.[311] The ousted ministers of Queen Diddā had to organize a *prāyopaveśa* against her favourite chief minister Tuṅga.[312] Saṁgrāmarāja was coerced into submission and agreed to expel Tuṅga when the fasting brāhamṇas threatened to dethrone him.[313]

King Ananta and prince Kalaśa were reconciled by means of *prāya*.[314] Not infrequently the kings had to take their advisers from these *parṣads*. Sahelaka, one of the *pārṣadīyas*, at the temple of Samarsvāmin, obtained the position of 'prefect of property' and in time rose to the position of a Mahattama (a judicial officer).[315] This would mean that the organisation of the brāhmaṇas (*parṣad*) was looked upon as an important autonomous body in as much as its rules were recognized as valid in the eyes of law and its members had a right to start a *prāya* against a king and his government. Suicide by valuntary starvation (*prāyopaveśa*) was thus the last refuge of the oppressed against the tyranny cf an absolute king.[316]

On the occasion of the coronation anniversary of the king prominent citizens, Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Śūdras were associated with the coronation bath and anointing ceremony.[317] The daily sacrifices were performed by the king only with the help of his Purohita and he worshipped the gods and Brāhmaṇas. The family priest made him sit on the throne.[318] Kṣemendra, says that when Brahmadatta passed away, the elders of the city (*pauramahattama*), to fulfil the desires of the people, coronated Supriya, the righteous king to protect his people.[319] These references suggest that the chiefs of the castes exercised considerable influence on the policy of the king and reminded him of his obligation to protect his subjects. It seems unlikely that the king could normally have acted without or against the advice of his councillors. The participation of the various social groups implied that the king was to honour the usage of the localities, castes and *kula*.

The ministers had a voice in the matter of succession. Kalaśa's choice of Harṣa was opposed by the ministers on the ground of his being guilty of treason. Disloyalty was a strong disqualification leading to supersession. The case of the ministers opposing the succession of Harṣa indicates the importance of this class of officers. Though the practice of hereditary monarchy was well established by the eleventh century, the ministers could exclude a member of the royal family in favour of a better qualified person. This would mean that the opinion of the council of ministers (*mantripariṣad*) and the subjects continued to operate as late as the twelfth century and was considered to be an accepted force in the matter of succession.[320] Monarchy, thus, retained some semblance of its earlier elective character and no claim to it could be justified simply on the basis of the law of primogeniture.[321] This must have considerably influenced the whims of an arbitrary and capricious ruler. The council of ministers is enjoyed by Lalitāditya,[322] to set aside a king of violent nature and replace him by another. Kuvalyapīḍa's forced abdication arising from the issue of 'the conquest of the quarters' and the ministers' refusal to embark upon such conquests confirm the strong position of the ministers in the direction of public affairs[323] which considerably checked the tendency towards absolutism. Moreover, the meeting of the assembled subjects was a survival of the old practice of election of the new king.[324] The hereditary right of the king to the throne did not invest the ruler with absolute powers since the tradition of election had not completely vanished.[325] The participation of the ministers in such an election was not a mere formality. This is evident from the fact that Kuvalyapīḍa, after a brief rule of one year and half a month, was forced to leave following a disagreement with his minister.[326] A similar incident seems to have occurred earlier in which Yudhiṣṭhira I was made to leave his kingdom by his dissenting ministers.[327]

The significant achievements of the Kārkoṭa rulers were mainly due to the counsels of their able ministers such as Mitraśarman and Devaśarman. Avantivarman's devoted and capable minister Suyya sacrificed his pleasures and pastimes to his masters's interests and people's welfare.[328] If a good king like Avantivarman by pleasing his subjects won popularity, the major credit for this goes to his ministers who gave him unstinted support in establishing a righteous rule. A king full of wisdom and judgement and a ministers selfless and free from arrogance commanded each other's confidence and trust.[329] The relation between the two was more in the nature of a partnership for the common endeavour of *Dharma* and not of a master and servant.

Thus, though there were no Parliaments to refuse supplies or inquests to inquire into the conduct of the king, there were other factors, more powerful and effective than the constitutional checks of western system to restrain the king. Religion required the king to uphold the traditional *Dharma* and to protect his subjects. Nobility of the king was considered to be closely associated with the virtues and fortunes of his subjects and even his progeny was the result of his subjects' merits.[330] Great calamities are caused by the baneful influence of sensuality and a king of unblemished character attains communion with Śiva.[331] A wholly virtuous king causes distress to *Kali* by his glory.[332] The king is described as a *dharmadhvaja*, *dharmaketu*, *dharmādhipati*[333] and *dharmatattavajña*.[334] A pious king makes the *Kṛta yuga* appear again.[335] The threat of hell was a constant reminder to the king not to deviate from the path of *Dharma*. Kalhaṇa tells us how Harṣa, whose mind was demented and his character a jumble of contrasts, in his last moments realized that "the fire which has risen from the burning pains of the subjects, does not go out until it has consumed the king's race, fortune and life."[336] Perhaps no other check was as effective as the religious and spiritual sanctions vouchsafed by Dharma.[337] The king was to follow the line of conduct adopted by the virtuous.[338] The kings like Meghavāhana[339], no doubt, enjoyed an influential position in religious affairs. But he could not act the part of the ecclesiastical head of the state. Śaṁkaravarman failed to stem the tide of heterodoxy during his reign. A religious synod, possibly summoned at the instance of the king and the queen, could not check the non-conformist elements.[340] It is, therefore, doubtful whether the kings had any authority over religious affairs and if they could control religious activities. The appointment of a Superintendent of Religious Affairs (*dharmādhikaraṇa*) in all probability implied that a certain moral code was to be observed by different sects, beyond which they were free to develop their own system of religion.

Again, it was the coronation oath which controlled the king. The presence of the representative sections of society on this occasion suggests that the king took an oath to respect the established laws and usages and to ensure the welfare of the kingdom.[341] He was not above the law. He was made to realise his obligations to the people. He was to show devotion to gods, Nāgas and the Brāhmaṇas. The Piśācas were to be worshipped with rites including *homa*-offerings. The Janas (tribes) were to be settled and made to follow the traditions of the country and those immigrating from other quarters were to be honoured. The king was required to go on pilgrimages and to respect the temples of gods.[342] The power of the king rested on the tacit consent of the prominent elements of the society, but it seems unlikely that the people depended upon the king's approval for the rules of their society.

The literary texts emphasize that a good king is to be careful in winning public opinion by respecting the wishes of the people and promoting their welfare. However, a wicked king, like Cakravarman, cared little for public opinion, and went against the traditions of Dharma and slew such dissenting ministers as refused to take the leavings of the Ḍomba Queens.[343] But such rulers were an exception to the recognised norms of kingship and their end was as tragic as the record of their heinous crimes.[344]

Another course open to the people, if a cruel king committed excesses, was to emigrate. Some disaffected people, unable to bear the oppression of Jayāpīḍa, committed suicide and others chose to leave the kingdom.[245] It was believed that living in the territory of an unrighteous king would cause the death of virtue and evil afflictions would overtake the kingdom. It also meant that the king would lose part of his revenue if the people went to live in another kingdom. The people exasperated by the atrocities of Jayāpīḍa proved a source of ruin to the foolish tyrant. The Brāhmaṇas incited a revolt through the *Sāmantas* against him as a consequence of which he fell and hence the *Brahmadaṇḍa* (social boycott) proved a mighty weapon[346] against the cruel and avaricious king.

From the *Āgamaḍambara* we learn that *paura* and *jānapada* were popular assemblies. They were addressed by royal officials about the important developments in the state, indicating the considerable influence that these bodies exercised even in the tenth century.[347] We cannot, however, say whether they still enjoyed the power of electing the king.[348] As in the capital so also in the district headquarters the *paura* and *Jānapada* assemblies seem to have carried on the political functions. Like Aśoka, Śaṁkaravarman discussed with them the ways and means of propagating *dharma* in the land.[349] We agree with Jayaswal that these popular assemblies acted as checks on the powers of the king[350] and their advice was valued.

SINGH'S THEORY OF ROYAL ABSOLUTISM EXAMINED

R.C.P. Singh holds that absolute monarchy was the prevailing form of goverment during the period A.D. 600-1200 and enumerates the factors which contributed to it.[351] The hereditary right of the kings to the throne, overriding the advice of their ministers and their dependence upon the king for the formation of the policy of the kingdom, ownership of the whole land of their kingdom, formation of the Hindu law by the brāhmaṇas in the name of the gods, kings working in defiance of the existing law and often being the real authors of law, commanders of the army, exercising influential position in religious affairs, exercising authority over society and maintaining its morals contributed to the absolutism of the monarch. He has referred to a number of passages from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* to substantiate his arguments. An examination of these passages in their proper context reveals that Singh's conclusions are unwarranted and an absolute monarchy in the sense of ability to do, undo or refuse to do anything in accordance with the arbitrary will of a king did not exist.[352]

The testament of Lalitāditya has been interpreted to suggest 'a very stern government which was not prepared to allow people on the road to prosperity from the fear that they would grow too strong and overthrow the regime.[353] Kalhaṇa says that if the villagers were to get the same comforts enjoyed by the urban people, kings were to neglect the defence of the fortresses, the royal functionaries were to lose discrimination, cavalry and infantry were to be raised from one district (*pradeśa*) alone, Kāyasthās were to unite through matrimonial alliances and the kings too were to become unjust and greedy like the Kāyasthās, surely this must spell the misfortune of the subjects.[354] Kalhaṇa certainly gives the impression that agriculture was being neglected and kings and royal functionaries turned more and more greedy and ignored the defences of the country—all these lead to the weakening of the central government and the ultimate misery of the people. A strong government does not necessarily mean an autocratic rule nor does it imply the impoverishment of the subjects. The king as *daṇḍadhara*[355] was expected to maintain the external peace and security and to promote the stability of the kingdom and overall prosperity of his people. The post Kārkoṭa period shows that Lalitāditya's assessment was correct and the kingdom had to suffer from the afflictions against which he warned his ministers. The king was advised to bring the offenders to book, otherwise his equal treatment of all alike caused infamy.[356]

The contention of Singh that 'Majumdar's assumption that there were certain survival of elective monarchy has no real basis as far as our period is concerned' is untenable.[357] Singh quotes the example of Meghavāhana who we know was chosen by the people and ministers together.[358] It would be wrong to assume that the first source of his power was his hereditary right to the throne. Even a powerful king like Lalitāditya had to indicate his choice and leave the matter of succession in the hands of his ministers.[359] The law of primogeniture was not strictly followed. We have a number of instances of fratrilineal succession.[360] Ministers, Ekāṅgas, Tantrins and queens played an effective role with regard to succession.[361] There is hardly any instance in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* to show that the king alone had the say in the appointment of the new ruler. Dikshitar is right in holding that kingship was hereditary but the office was the creation of the people.[362] To say that the 'tyranncial rule of Harṣa was patiently tolerated by his humble subjects'[363] is stating a half truth. We know the tragic circumstances in which he was killed and the ministers' initial opposition to his succession against the suggestion of Kalaśa.[364] There are many instances of ministerial role with regard to royal succession and administration of the kingdom.[365] Singh's interpretation of verse IV.51 of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is misleading.[366] The verse says that the king could instruct his ministers in *nīti* but no minister was capable of instructing him in the same. This only shows king Durlabhaka Pratāpāditya's high proficiency in state-craft. This would hardly imply that he 'guided his ministers who merely carried out the policy laid out by the king.' Singh further points out that 'Kalhaṇa approved the attitude taken by Bijja (*sic*) in disobeying the Councillor's advice, which gives the impression that in case of difference, rulers would overrule their ministers and act according to their own choice'.[367]

King Kalaśa was so much beholden to Bijja, a Śāhi prince, for his assistance in administration and loyalty to the king that he disregarded the advice of his crafty minister Jayānanda to banish the Śāhi prince.[368] Thus we see that kings often exercised their discretion in rejecting the advice of their malicious ministers but not of others whose suggestions, by and large, would be accepted in the interests of the kingdom.

According to Singh another important source of the king's absolute power was his great wealth. He was possessed of the whole land of his kingdom.[369] But, as has been rightly shown by Dr. Gopal, there existed private ownership of cultivated land as against the total ownership of land by the State.[370] Moreover, the queens had their own treasury over which they exercised independent control.[371] The innovations of Śaṁkaravarman in raising new imposts were not the normal features of the fiscal policy of the king of Kashmir.[372] Kalhaṇa disapproves of these measures[373] as also the extravagance of king Ananta.[374] He says that the kings of Kashmir had lost their former material prosperity and depended more and more on the *Huṇḍīs* of Tantrins for their living.[375]

Singh next quotes the instance of Candrāpīḍa and the *Carmakāra* to show how the former infringed the *Smṛti* law by depriving the latter of his habitation-land.[376] The dialogue between the two, as it occurs in the *Rājataranginī*, shows that the king acted according to *dharma*[377] and did not want to tarnish his piety by forcibly taking away the land of others.[378] The whole dialogue shows that kings and subjects alike were subservient to *dharma*.[379] Law was considered to be supreme. The Superintendents of work (*navakarmādhikārīs*) had started the construction of the Tribhuvanaswāmi temple without the permission of the king who held them guilty of having transgressed the path of Justice.[380] The *Carmakāra* praises the king's righteous conduct (*ācārapaddhati*) and calls him the perceiver of truth (*santadṛṣṭā*).[381] He was rewarded with money and was promised a new hut. There is nothing in the passage to suggest that the king was the real author of law or acted contrary to the norms of the *Smṛti* law. On the contrary, the king is shown restoring all the four *pādas* of law.[382] It could thus be unfair to regard Candrāpīḍa an absolute ruler.

Singh regards the king's command over the army as another factor leading to his absolute authority and mentions the example of King Ananta who led his royal army and fought against the rebel Kampaneśa Tribhuvana.[383] He perhaps forgets the fact that an important factor contributing to the weakness of the king's authority in Kashmir was that the control over the army was diffused. Ministers had their own contingents. Almost all the royal functionaries from the *Nagarādhikṛta* to *Dvarāpati* commanded their own troops which considerably weakened the authority of the king. The absence of a warrior-class in Kashmir, unlike other parts of India, contributed to the instability in the kingdom. The last two books of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[384] show that the profession of arms was not confined to any particular class. All people could take to arms which further rendered the king's position insecure and hardly allowed him to become an absolute ruler.

To prove the absolute authority of the king Singh advances the argument that the king exercised his influential position in religious affairs.[385] He quotes the example of Meghavāhana who stopped the slaughter of living beings and 'butchers were paid from the royal treasury for their maintenance'. According to him the enforcement of the law of non-violence must have been very distressing to those who had to offer animal sacrifices and might have resulted in communal disharmony. Meghavāhana, after stopping animal sacrifice, helped butchers to earn their living with some other righteous means for which he provided funds.[386] He did not stop religious sacrifices (*kratu*) nor the oblation to the spirits (*bhūtabali*). An effigy of the animal in ghee and one in pastry was offered on such occassions. The *Kirātas*, a forest-dwelling tribe, enjoyed the privilege of making sacrifices except the human sacrifice.[387]

Lastly, Singh maintains that 'the king's authority over society may have been an important factor contributing to his power over his kingdom.[388] He cites the instances of Mihirākula and Gopāditya. The former slaughtered three thousand (*sic*) women alongwith their husbands and children of respectable births for being unchaste[389] and the latter removed to Bhūkṣīravāṭikā those brāhmaṇas who ate garlic. Singh adds that the Hindu authors of the period looked on their kings as responsible for the maintenance of morals and the removal of evils from the society.[390] We fail to understand how the maintenance of social norms based on *Varṇāśramadharma* could lead to the absolute power of the king. The king had the primary responsibility of protecting all the classes and preventing the confusion arising from the disorder in class-functions.[391] Kalhaṇa strikes a comparison between benevolent Candrāpīḍa and his treacherous brother Tārāpīḍa whose dazzling *lakmī* tormented the people like the fire of the hell because of his propensity to evil.[392]

REFERENCE

1. NP 139 sqq.
2. *Ibid* 13[illegible]-139. Jalodbhava is represented as a water-born demon in the Satīsaras who devastated the countries on the outskirts of the lake.
3. NP 197 ff. A somewhat similar view appears in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII, 4.12) : 'The gods headed by Prajāpati said to one another, "This one is among the gods the most vigorous, the most strong, the most valiant, the most perfect who carries out best any work (to be done). Let us instal him in the kingship.' Kingship is seen originating in election and common consent, based on the possession of the highest qualities by the chosen candidates.
4. I 26-30.
5. *Kingship in Northern India*, p. 23.
6. RT, I 26-27.
7. *Kingship*, p. 23.
8. *NP* 181-186 ; Supra Ch. I. p.
9. *Ibid.* 881 ff.
10. *Ibid*. 948 ; RT I 30-31.
11. *SGAI*, pp. 34-35 ; Beni Prasad, p. 372.
12. Beni Prasad, *The Theory of Government in Ancient India*, op cit., p. 15. The conflict between demons and gods shows how "kingship originates in military necessity and derives its vitality from consent."
13. NP 866 ff ; 339 ff.

14. NP 871-872.
15. *Ibid*. 363 ff.
16. *Ibid*. 365 ff.
This goes against the precepts of Kāmandaka that a king should never promote a high-born with a low-born one. *KNS*. 5.70. This advice of Nīla encourages equality in society, thus establishing a spirit of equality in an emerging state.
17. *NP* 838. This shows that the Hindu theoreticians were conscious of the importance of the coercive power in a given political society as the basis of the state.
18. *RT* I. 28-31 ; *NP* 329.
19. Tantrins were the foot-soldiers in the employ of the king. Ekāngas functioned as his body-guard. They figure prominently in Books V and VII of the *Rājataraṅginī*. They were a body organised in military fashion and Stein considers them a counterpart of the *Paltan-Nizāmat* for the support of the civil authorities, the collection of revenue etc. (Stein Vol. I, pp. 219-220, *v* 249 n). They seem to be the equivalent of the Ekanḍas of the Marātha armies and like the *Yekangbaj* of Ahmednagar Mahomedan warriors fought with one weapon only. "They made both offence and defence with the same sword"—Ferishta.
20. *NP* 807 ff.
21. These mantras referred to longevity, fearlessness and prosperity of the king ; cf. *Rājadharmakāṇḍa* (p. 7) quoted from the *Brahmapurāṇa*.
22. The *Kotihoma* was performed in order to avert divine calamities (*Br*. *S*. XLV. 6).
23. *NP* 804 ff.
24. Jayaswal has shown that the *Paura* was a communal association and the *paura-mukhyas* were the city-magistrates mentioned by Strabo. In all constitutional matters *Paura* always appears with *Jānapada* (*Hindu polity*, pp. 237-245). The *Nīlamata Purāna*, the *Rājataranginī* and the *Agamadambara* show how the *Pauras* participated in the coronation of the king and other important constitutional matters (*NP* 811, 812, 821 ; *RT* II 117 ; *Āgam*. Act III). This agrees with the conclusion of Jayaswal that the *Paura-Jānapada*

was a twin organism charged with the deposition of the king, nominating the successor to the throne, whose members were consulted and referred to with profound respect by a king. (*Hindu Polity*, pp. 268-269). The *Paura-Jānapada* theory has, however, been criticised by other scholars.

25. *Puṣya-Snāna* was a ceremoinal ablution held by kings every year on the full-moon day of Pausa (*Br. S.* XLVII 82). It was also celebrated at the time of royal consecration and was believed to bless the king with overlordship and the birth of a son (*Ibid* XLVII. 85).
This ceremony appears to have been actually performed before starting an aggressive operation (cf. *Harṣacarita*, VII, pp. 273-74).
26. This disproves the assertion of Singh that there was 'no sense of equality in the mind of the Hindu theoretician' as the basis of the state. (*Kingship in Northern India*, p. 81).
27. Literally meaning fearlessness, it refers to the guarantee of protection against all sorts of threats and dangers.
28. Amarakoṣa and Kātyāyana, the lexicographers, in giving meanings of *pṛakṛti* say that the term means amongst others, the *Pauras*, i.e. the Associations (*Śreṇayaḥ*) of the *Pauras—Hindu Polity*, loc. cit., p. 237.
29. Ch. II 1-47.
30. Cf. *RT* II, 117.
31. *BKM* 17. 43-47.
32. III, 227 sqq ; *Hindu Polity* p. 237.
33. *RT* III 528 ; IV 715-719 ; II 5.
34. *Ibid* III 247-248.
35. *Ibid* III 5.
36. *Ibid* VI 232.
37. Majumdar : *Corporate Life*, pp 37-45 ; Jayaswal : *Hindu Polity*, Pt. II, pp. 185 ff. 4th ed.
38. *SGAI*, p. 81 ; *A. Br.* III. 12 *Rājānam rājaputram*.
39. *AKL* 6. 190.
40. *RT* II. 116. Even in the "Epic age" the Paura-*Jānapadas* exercised the right of the selection of a king. *Udyoga Parva*, Ch. 149 ; *Ādiparva*, Ch. 85 ; *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, Chs. I-II).

41. *RT* V 449-465. In the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, Ch. II. 67.2 the *rājakartāras* are the *dvijātis* assembled together to select a king after the death of Daśaratha.

42. Altekar's interpretation is wrong. *SGAI*, p. 84 n; Political Institutional and Adm, Padma, p. 35.

43. *RT* V 452, 457-58.

44. The term is used in the *Upanisads* for "a gathering of specialists discussing problems of philosophy". *Br. Ar. Up.* 6.1.1 ; *Jai. Br.* 2.11.13-14. In the *Gobhila Grihya-sutra* (III. 2.40) it means a council sitting round a teacher.

45. *Gaut. Dh. S. S.* XXVIII, 48-49 ; *Vas. Dh. S.* III. 20 ; *Bau. Dh. S.* I.1.1.7-8.

46. In practice they modified the laws to a considerable extent. The *Parsad* is thus the nearest approximation to a definite legislative body.

47. *RT* V 464 ; राज्याहृन्वेषिभिर्विप्रै:
cf. Pāṇini, *Aṣtādhyāyi*. 3.2.78, णिनिस्ताच्छील्ये.........

48. *RT* V 464 sqq.

49. *RT* V 465-468.

उत्पताकध्वजच्छत्रशोभि युग्यार्पितासनम् ।
अशेषं पारिषद्यानां तावत्तत्रामिलद्दलम् ।।४६६।।

In a Sūtra of Pāṇini (5.2.112) the king is called *Pariṣad-bala* (one whose strength lies in *Pariṣad*). The use of this expression is significant as it points to the administrative functions of the *pariṣad*.

It appears that in the event of disagreement or failure to choose a king the *Pārisadyas*, perhaps a larger body of electors, came out to take a decision. They seem to have been the representatives of different *parṣads* of different villages and towns.

50. *Ibid*. 476.

51. *SGAI, loc. cit.* pp. 81-82.

52. *RT* I 70 ; V 476-77.

53. *Ibid* V 477.

54. *Political Institutions and Administration in India*; p. 35.

55. See *ante*.

56. *RT* V 480-483.

57. I 352 sqq; cf. *White Yajurveda*, 19, 21; Also see *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* for the deposition of kings.

58. *Ibid* II 5; VI 69, 84, 90-112, 114-125; VII 705-707; VIII 837-838.

59. *Ibid* III 2.

60. *Ibid* III 228; Also see *NP* 804 ff.

The Mahāmātyas and the representatives of Janapadas came to participate in the selection of the king.

61. *RT* III 528.

62. *Ibid* 493 sqq.

63. *Ibid* IV 353-359.

64. *SGAI*, p. 84.

65. *Ibid.*

66. *RT* IV 715 sqq ; VI 130. Durlabhavardhana's accession to the throne following the death of his father-in-law was both the result of a palace revolution and the free choice of ministers and other high dignitaries who, in the beginning were not prepared and rather reluctant to receive him as their king (*RT* III 524-528).

67. *RT* VII 735 sqq.

68. *Ibid* VIII 837-38. On Sussala's departure for Lohara, the ministers and troops etc. made a common cause with the Ḍāmaras in installing Bhikṣācara as king.

The two queens of Nirjitavarman, Bappaṭadevi and Mṛgāvatī, to gain the throne for their respective sons, offered to Śugandhāditya, the minister, as 'fees the feast of sexual intercourse alongwith rich presents.' (*RT* V 281-286); 414.

69. *RT* V 127-134.

70. *SGAI* p. 84.

71. 90.

72. *AKL*, 26.10 ; Mahāsammata appears in earlier Buddhist texts. The theory of the Great Elect occurs in the Dīgha Nīkaya (Vol. III, pp. 84-86) in the Dialogues of Buddha, pp. 77-94 ; Also in Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* Ch. III. pp. 203-206 ; See also *Hindu Political Theories*, Ghoshal, pp. 337-338.

73. The story of Saṁdhimata Āryarāja gives us a glimpse of the elective principle (*RT* II 114-116).

74. *AKL* 23.50.

75. Supra pp. 58-59.
    NP 811-815.
76. Dutta, *Kings of Kashmir*, Vol. III, p. 5; *Dvitīya Rājtaraṅgiṇi*, Ed. Peterson, vs. 38-52.
77. *Ibid* Vol. III p. 6 ; *Dvitīya Rājtaraṅgiṇī*, by Peterson, Bombay, 1896, vs. 52-58.
78. *Ibid* Vol. III, pp. 7-8 ; *Dvitīya Rājtaraṅgiṇī*, vs. 59-67.
79. *AKL* 5.50.
80. 90 ; cf. *AS* VI. 1 ; *Yāj.* I 309-11 ; 334 ; *AKL* IV.
81. *NKT* 10 ff ; *AKL* 4.4-5.
82. *Ibid* 1.1
83. IV. 22.
84. IV 24 ; *AKL* 5.20 ; *Kāvya* 2. p. 51.
85. *NKT* 9.
86. Supra pp. 52-53. The Nāga-Jalodbhava conflict, the first legendary kings of Kāshmira (Gonanda I, Dāmodara I) are represented as warrior-kings fighting against the heroes of the Mahābhārata War (*RT*. I. 59 sqq.), the victory of Hara over the mighty demon Andhakasura (*Haravijaya*) underline the importance of a spiritual warrior in overcoming the forces of evil.
87. IV. 7, 372 etc.
88. *NKT* 90.
89. *RT* I 309 sqq.
90. *Ibid* I 350 sqq ; *Ain-i Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 383.
91. *Ibid* V. 253-255.
92. *AKL* 85.32-33 ; V 253-254 ; 93.104.
93. *RT* V 480.
94. *AKL* 4.4-7 ; *NKT* 20-23 ; *Āgam*. 4.13.
95. *RT* I 71, 73.
96. *Ibid*. V 243.
97. *Ibid* VI 332 sqq.
98. CMI, p. 45 and pl. iv. 11 ; cf. Mahāliṅgam, *SIP*, p. 37.
99. *LP*, pp. 62-63.
100. *RT*. VII 134-135, 180 sqq ; 198 sqq ; IV 681 ; Queen Sūryamatī restrained Ḍhallaka, Padmarāja and others. She applied herself to the affairs of the state and took the king's business in hand and secured the services of a number of competent and honest ministers. (*RT* VII 197-208).

101. Mahāliṅgam, *SIP*, p. 37.
102. *RT* VII 208.
103. *Ibid* V 295-296.
104. Supra, pp. 66-67 V 469-475.
105. *RT* V. 354 sqq.
106. *Ibid* III 490, 529-530.
107. *RT* V 248 sqq.
108. *Ibid* V 328-50.
109. *RT* VII 1583 sqq.
110. *Ibid* VIII 371 sqq.
111. *Jona* 52-58 ; Dutta, *Kings of Kashmir*, Vol. III, pp. 7-8 ; *Dvitīya Rājtaraṅgiṇī* by Peterson, Bombay, 1896, vs. 59-67.
112. *RT* V 445-448 ; VI 90-91.
113. *RT* V 289 ; VI 122-125.
114. *Ibid* V 248.
115. Cf. *Jātaka* IV pp. 109, 487 ; *Pratijnāyaugandharāyaṇa*, Act I ; RT V 228.
116. *RT* V 228 sqq.
117. *Ibid* V 114.
118. *Ibid* VI 188-89.
119. *RT* VI 188 sqq.
120. *Ibid* 355.
121. *Ibid* V, VI, VII *passim* ; cf. *Position of Women*, pp. 186-88 (2nd Ed.).
122. *Ibid* V 232 etc.
123. *RT* V 249-262. In such struggles for succession to the throne a queen's person was no more sacrosanct than that of a king. Sugandhā was first imprisoned and then put to death by the Tantrins (*RT* V 262).
124. *Ibid* VII 233 sqq ; 423 sqq.
125. *RT* III 477.
126. *RT* IV 119.
127. *Ibid* IV 398-402.
128. *Ibid* IV 687-690.
129. *Ibid* V 242.
130. *Ibid* VI 355.
131. Supra.
132. *RT*. VIII 3444-3448 ; 371 sqq.

133. *RT* VIII 303 sqq.
134. *Ibid.* VIII 1794-96.
135. *RT* 1989 sqq.
136. *Jona.* 52-58.
137. *AKL* p. 627, 32, 33, 38.
138. *Mālavikāgni* Act V, 13-14 ; Levi *de Nepal,* Vol. II, pp. 191-92.
139. *JA*, 1923, pp. 278-279 ; cf. *AS*. VII. 2.
140. *RT* I 168 ; VIII 3412 ; *Select Inscr.* No. 48—*Sānchi Buddhist Ins. of Vasishka*—Śaka year 28 and No. 51, *Ara Stone Insc. of Kanishka II*—Saka year 41. Vasuṣka has been identified with Jushka of the *Rajataraṅgiṇī* and Vajhishka of No. 51 ; *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, pp. 58 ff ; *EI* XIV p. 143 ; *EI*, II pp. 369-370 ; *JRAS*, 1903, p. 326 ff. Kanishka II was the son of Vajhishka or Vasu Kushāṇa. Kālhaṇa's narrative leaves the impression that Huvishka ruled simultaneously with Jushka and Kanishka, i.e. Vājheshka and Kanishka of the Ārā inscription of the year 41 ; *PHAI*, pp. 421-22 (7th ed.)
141. *Vikram.* XVIII. 47, 67.
142. *RT* VII 899.
143. *RT* VIII 8 ; cf. *Mālavīkā*. where a prince is being installed in *addharajji.* The term corresponds to the two members of the *dvirajyaka* or *dvairājya*.
144. *Ibid* VIII 418-420, VIII 37 sqq.
145. *Ibid*, VIII 7, 1905 ; *AKL* 22.90 ; cf. *Āchārāṅga-Sūtra*, II, 3,1,10.
146. Kauṭilya characterises the *dvairājya* (the rule of the two) as a constitution of rivalry and mutual conflict leading to final destruction. *AŚ* VIII 1.2. Jayaswal considers the working of *dvairājya* as a unique constitutional experiment in India. Though the constitution in Nepal lasted for a long time, it is difficult to agree with him that it was a success. *Hindu Polity*, p. 81 (4th ed.), Bangalore, 1967.
147. *RT* IV 374-376 ; VIII 2512, 3027.
148. *NP* 222, 237 ; Supra, ch. I, pp. 20-24.
149. *RT* I. 72.
150. *RT* VIII 858, 1756-64.
151. *Agam* IV. 2 ; *PV*. VII 62.

152. *RT* IV 7 ; VIII 1199.
153. *Gilgit* Ms. Vol. I, p. 15 ; cf. *Mbh* (R) Ś.P. 59 : 128-133 ; 135.
154. *Mārtaṇḍa Ins*.
155. *NKT* 21. 12 ; 90 comm.
156. *Manu* VII 4-5, 11.
157. See ante.
158. *RT* III 53.
159. *Ibid* III 95-96.
160. *Samaya* IV 32 ; also see *RT* I 92.
161. IV 7, 194, 217, 222-224, 322, 372 ; V 158 etc.
162. *RT* V 114-115. The minister-engineer of Avantivarman, Suyya, who possessed accumulated religious merit achieved in a single birth that holy work which Viṣṇu accomplished in four incarnations.
163. *Āgam* IV 1-14.
164. *RT* VII 1147-48.
165. *Ibid*. IV 399.
166. *Ibid*. II 47.
167. *Ibid*. IV 5-7 passim ; *AKL* IV and V passim ; *Kapp*. II, 8, 9; IV 18 ; *Hara*. Sarga XXXII passim ; for the different names of kings.
168. *Ibid* II 33.
169. *Ibid* II 42.
170. *AKL* II 100 sqq.
171. *RT* VII 506 sqq ; VIII 45 sqq ; *Bh. M. Śānti*. 13.86-95, 292-319.
172. 90.
173. *AKL* 11. 153-156.
174. *RT* I 188.
175. *Ibid* II 45 sqq, III 45 sqq.
176. *Ibid* VII 513 ; VI 7, 46 ; *Rāmā*. 290-291.
177. *RT* VII 516.
178. *Ibid* VI 41 sqq.
179. *AKL* 12.9 ; *NP* 874-877.
180. *RT* VII 512.
181. *AKL* 8.9-10.
182. *Ibid* 12.10-16.

183. *RT* VIII. 1235 ; cf. *Maṇimekhalai*, VII. 5.8.12. Happiness was believed to depend upon the righteous standards followed by the king.
184. *Ibid* VII 953 ; *AKL* 51.22-26 ; *Bh. M. Śānti.* 13. *Rāja-dharma.*
185. *RT* VIII 2384 ; *Bh. M. Śānti.* 13.79, 357 ; *Vikram* 17.1-2.
186. *Ibid* 2385.
187. *RT* (VIII). 2386.
188. *Ibid* VI 8.
189. *AKL* 64.15-20 ; *RT* II 17 sqq.
190. *Ibid* 22.
191. *RT* II 48.
192. *Ibid* II 53-29.
193. *Ibid* V 122.
194. *AKL* 4.60-61.
195. *Ibid* IV 64-65.
196. Kalā 10.39.
197. *RT* V 16 ; *NP* 860, 1020.
198. *Ibid* VII 955 *passim*; *Vikram* XVIII. 24,19.
199. *Ibid* VII 933, 934, 932.
200. *Ibid* IV 373.
201. *Ibid* VII 201.
202. *AKL* 54.12 ; *RT* V 18.
203. *AKL* 2 *Passim.*
204. *Ibid* 2 *passim* ; 55. 4 sqq ; 4.119 sqq.
205. *Ibid* 5. 49.
206. HDS Vol. II, Pt. i, p. 112.
207. *RT* I 307.
208. *AKL* 64.13, 22, 23.65.70 ; *Kapp*. IV 18.
209. *RT* IV 44 ; I 65.
210. *Vikram.* Sargas XV and XVI.
211. *Ibid* 64.23 ; *RT* VIII 45-121 ; VII 512.
212. *Kapp.* II 20.
213. *RT* VIII 2448.
214. *Ibid* VII 515 ; VIII 2376 ff. *Kutt*. 886 ff.
215. *Ibid* VIII 170.
216. *AKL* 64. 18.
217. *Bh. M. Śānti.* 13.292 ff.

218. *Bh. M.* Śānti 328.
219. *Agam.* Act II p. 44.
220. *Nyāyamañjarī*, p. 271.
221. *RT* IV 656; *Bh. M.* Śānti. 87-89, 106, 278, 290-291.
222. *AKL* 27.22-23.
223. *RT* I 339-345 ; II 13.
224. *Ibid* I 115-117, 179, 312-316 etc.
225. *Ibid* VIII 45 sqq.
226. *The Republic*, iii, 434 : 'Any meddlesome intercharge between the three classes would be most mischievous to the State.' ; *Politics*, pp. 274-275.
227. *RT.* IV 108.
228. *Ibid* I 81 ; cf. *AŚ.* Bk I.
229. *Ibid.* IV 45-58. In the Dharmaśāstras *dharma* is represented to have four *pādas*.
230. *RT* IV 107-111 ; cf. *AKL* 27.22-23.
231. *Ibid* VIII 49-75 ; 112. 1160.
232. *NP* 838-839 ; *RT* VIII 65.
233. *Bh. M. Śānti* 13.87.
234. *RT* III 27.
235. *Ibid* VII 1162.
236. *Kapp.* XVIII. 69.
237. *RT* VII 1715-1716.
238. *RT* IV 126 sqq.
239. *Ibid* IV 514 sqq ; cf. Goetz, H. *Journal of BBRAS*, vol. XXVII, 1952, p. 43 ff. CII.
240. *Med. Art in Kasmīr* IUB, XXI, 1952, *N.S.* p. 63 ff ; *IAS*, XIX, 1953, p. 45 ff ; Sahni, D.R. *Pre-Muhammadan Monuments of Kasmir*, *ASIR* II, 1915-16, pp. 49-78 ; See also *ASIR* II, 1913-14, pp. 40-62 ; A. Stein, *JRAS* 1944, pp. 5. sqq.
241. *RT* I 347 ; II 58 ; VIII 571 ; *Śrīv.* I 402 ; *Kuṭṭ* 34. For the spiritual welfare of sombody, say mother etc., an almshouse (annasattra) was founded.
242. *Ibid* VI 87-88.
243. *Ibid* VII 149.
244. *Ibid* VI 303.
245. *RT* III 461.

246. *Ibid* III 480.
247. *Samaya* IV 69.
248. *RT* V 156. It seems that alms-houses of various descriptions were built by kings to perpetuate the memory of their ancestors and beloved queens.
249. *Select Ins*. p. 146 No. 49—*Mathura Stone Ins. of Huvishka*—Śaka year 28. 11. 3-6 ; *RT* I 347 for *akṣayini* ; *Śriv*. i. 408 uses the expression *annasattra avicchinna* in the same sense ; 1.5.22 (Hoshiarpur ed.).
250. Almost all the books of the *Rājataraṅginī* have given a detailed account of these *maṭhas* etc.
251. *Āgam*. A four-act play gives a graphic account of religious controversies.
252. *RT* I 140 sqq.
253. See *Agam*.
254. *Śrīk*. Sarga XXV.
255. *Caur*. 17.
256. *RT* V 32 sqq ; VII 934.
257. *Ibid* V 34.
258. *Ibid* IV 144.
259. *Ibid* IV 705.
260. *Ibid* VII 934-37, 941-42.
261. *Ibid* VII 606.
262. *Ibid* VII 707.
263. *Kuṭṭ* 878, 939 ; *Hara* V 51-54.
264. *Kuṭṭ* 885 sqq ; *NP* 402 ff ; *Madanotsava* was a spring festival. Besides dancing and musical concerts, men and women of the town would visit the temple of Kāmadeva.
265. *RT* VII 2, 319, 609-13, 1704 ; IV 423, 499-502 ; VII 955, 869-73, 893 ; *NKT* 90.
266. One of the meanings of the word 'Indra'.
267. *RT* V 122 ; *Bh. M. Śānti* 13. 294.
268. *Ibid* V 72 sqq.
269. IV 6.
270. *Ibid* V 119 ; I 134.
271. *AKL* 64.26-28.
272. *RT* VIII 55.
273. *Ibid* VII 512, 511.
274. *Ibid* VIII 110 ; *Bh. M. Śānti*. 13.298.

275. *Ibid* V 350, 352-353.
276. *AKL* 64.22.
277. *AKL* 52.1, *RT* VIII 3033-3039.
278. *Ibid* 22.37 ; 23 6 ; 4 *passim.*
279. *Ibid* 4 *passim* ; 51.22.
280. 'Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity', Aiyangar—op. cit.' p. 71.
281. *AKL* 54.6-7.
282. *Ibid*. 5.20.
283. *Ibid*. 52.53 *passim*.
284. RT III 468-473. Tradition has it that in the neighbourhood of Kishtawār near the river Cenāb, he entered a cave with his family and many courtiers; *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 385.
285. *RT* IV 40 sqq; V 122-125; VI 5 sqq, 143-144.
286. *Ibid*. VII 201 sqq; *Aucitya vicāracarcā* 39.
287. *Ibid*. VIII 49 sqq.
288. *Ibid*. VII 128-129.
289. *Ibid*. VIII 2448.
290. *Ibid*. VIII 1217-1219; *AKL* 3.13.
291. *RT* IV 119-125.
292. *Ibid*. IV 393-398.
293. *Ibid*. IV 399.
294. *RT* IV 661-672.
295. *Ibid*. V 414 sqq.
296. *Ibid*. VI 130 sqq.
297. *RT* VII 189 sqq.
298. *Ibid*. VII 684 sqq.
299. *Ibid*. VII 869-874.
300. *RT* VIII 452-459.
301. *Ibid*. IV 620 sqq.
302. *RT* I 324.
303. *Ibid*. I 87, 307, 311, 314, 341; III 8, 316, 481, 639; V 403, 442; VI 89, 336; VII 189; VIII 1082.
304. Supra.
305. *RT* V 465-466.
306. *Ibid*. IV 99.
307. *RT* VI 14.
308. *Ibid*. VIII 898-909.

309. *Ibid.* VII 1088.
310. *Ibid.* VIII 658.
311. *Ibid.* VIII 2224-2226.
312. *Ibid.* VI 334-344; Diddā just managed to check the outbreak of a general revolt by bribing the fasting brāhmaṇas with presents of gold.
313. *RT* VII 13 sqq.
314. *Ibid.* VII 400-401.
315. *Ibid.* VII 1105-1106, 1170, 1176.
316. *Ibid.* IV 632.
317. *NP* 824-825.
318. *Ibid.* 829.
319. *AKL* 6.190.
320. Supra, pp. 67-68.
321. *Supra*, pp. 63 ff.
322. *RT* IV 345 sqq.
323. *Ibid.* IV 51 ; Majumdar rightly points out that "saturated as we are with the idea of modern constitutional development, we naturally look for constitutional checks upon the authority of kings, such as are to be found in most countries of modern Europe where monarchy prevails. The only check of this nature in ancient India seems to have been the *mantris* and *Mantri-Parishad*, rightly corresponding to the modern Executive and Legislative Councils. It will appear from what has been said above that the ministers controlled the authority of the king to a great extent. The decisions arrived at the joint sessions of the two bodies were generally binding upon the king." *AI*, *op. cit.*, p. 154.
324. *Ibid.* III 228 sqq; *AKL* 23.50.
325. *Ibid.* V 243.
326. *RT* IV 378 sqq.
327. *Ibid.* I 350 sqq.
328. *Ibid.* V 2-4; 47-59.
329. *Ibid.* V 2-5.
330. *RT* IV 39.
331. *Ibid.* I 198, 269, 108 sqq.
332. *Ibid.* IV 45-46.
333. *BKM* 9.554; *AKL* 55.6; cf. *Dīgha*, p. 234.

334. *Nyāyamañjari*, p. 271.
335. *RT* V 120-122.
336. *Ibid.* VII 1582; *Yājn*, *Rājadharma* 341 ; *Pancatantra*, *Mitrabhede*, 5th story, vv. 159-169.
337. *Ibid.* IV 28; 76-77.
338. *RT* IV 30.
339. *Ibid.* III 5-7.
340. *Agam.* IV
341. *NP* 824 sqq.
342. *NP* 837-838.
343. *RT* V 393.
344. *Ibid.* V 407 sqq.
345. *Ibid.* IV 632; 638.
346. *RT* IV 643, 656. In the Buddhist literature *Brahmadaṇḍa* is described as the highest penalty or a kind of severe punishment. *Vin.* II 290; *Dīgha.* II 154; *Dh A* II 112.
347. *Agam.* Act III, p. 49.
348. *RT* II 116; cf. *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, Ch. II vv. 19-20; *Udyoga*, *Adhyāya* 149, vv. 21-25; *Adi*, *Adhyāya* 85.
349. *Vgam.* Act III.
350. *Hindu Polity* p. 268-269. The views of Jayaswal about the nature and functions of Paura and Janapada Assemblies have been generally criticised by scholars (e.g. A.S. Altekar pp. 146-155 and R.C. Majumdar: *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, pp. 92 ff. 1969 ed.) But it seems that the interpretation suggested by K.P. Jayaswal holds good in the case of some of the references. References in Kashmir texts belong to the same category.
351. *Kingship in Northern India*, Ch. IV, pp. 38-58.
352. Aristotle upholds that the state must have a moral end. *Politics*, I. 1, 2. (Everyman's Library Series).
353. Loc. cit. p. 39.
354. *RT* IV 349-352.
355. *RT* IV 105, 108.
356. *Ibid.* I 355; cf. *Vālmīkī Rāmāyaṇa* 21.16.
357. *Kingship*, p. 42.
358. *RT* III 2.
359. *Ibid.* IV 356-359.

360. Supra pp. 82-85.
361. *RT* III 528; VI 260; V 292, 297, 287, 295 etc.; Supra Ch. II, p. 67 ff., 78 ff.
362. *HAI*, p. 68.
363. *Kingship*, p. 44.
364. *RT* VII 703 sqq; VII 1385; Uccala's *rājyābhiṣeka* by the Brāhmaṇs while in Hirṇyapura shows how Harṣa's rule was not tolerated by them.
365. *Ibid.* VII 729; IV 690, 709; V 129; VII 244, 245; IV 361-362.
366. *Kingship*, p. 47; *RT* IV 51.
367. *RT* IV 51.
368. *Ibid.* VII 274 sqq; 536-565. Kalaśa was quite proficient in state-craft. (*RT* VII 541).
369. *Kingship*, p. 47.
370. *History of Agriculture*, op. cit., pp. 43-71.
371. Supra, p. 81.
372. *RT* V 166-173.
373. *Ibid.* V 165.
374. *Ibid.* VII 148-149.
375. *Ibid.* V 266.
376. *Kingship*, pp. 52-53.
377. *RT* IV 75.
378. *Ibid.* IV 59.
379. *Ibid.* IV 57 sqq; cf. *Raghu* 2.19.
380. *Ibid.* IV 60.
381. *RT* 77, 66. Cf. *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* 1.1.5.6 for *sadācāra* and *Kātyāyana Smrticandrikā* 2. p. 26 king's application of his personal opinion for the elucidation of legal ambiguities. The king is a *sad-dṛṣta* as his proficiency in *Śruti*, *Smṛti* and the rules applicable at all times help him in perceiving the truth.
382. *RT* IV 46; cf. *Manu* 1.81-82; IV 82 sqq.
383. *Kingship*, pp. 54-55.
384. VII and VIII *passim*; VIII 2518.
385. *Kingship*, pp. 55-56.
386. *RT* III 6.
387. *Ibid.* III 7,31 ff; see *ante*, p. 94 for further details.

388. *Kingship*, p. 57.
389. *Kingship*, p. 59.
390. *RT* I 323-324. Kalhana expresses wonder why such a cruel king was not killed by the collective might of the people.
391. *Ibid.* IV 111; Even Plato recommends the prevention of such class-confusion by the philosopher king. (*Republic*, IV, 434).
392. *Ibid.* IV 117, 121.

3

Ministry and Secretariate

I. MINISTERS

IMPORTANCE OF MINISTERS

The Kashmīr *maṇḍala* had only seven main State officials (*saptaprakṛtis*) before the introduction of eighteen offices (*karmasthānāni*) in the time of Jalauka.[1] These offices evidently correspond to the eighteen *tīrthas* mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*[2] and *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra.*[3] Foremost among the dignitaries appear to be the *mantrin* or the *Amātyas*. As the name indicates a *mantrin* was concerned with *mantra* and being a close follower or companion (*amātya*) of the king was next only to his master. Śivasvāmin states that a king who is lucky enough to have clever ministers never courts disaster.[4] The *Pṛithvīrāja-Vijaya* also refers to the importance of counsel.[5] Somadeva states that when a king depends on himself for success (*svāyattasiddhiḥ*), his ministers are considered merely the instruments of his wisdom ; and in the case of such monarchs you would not have much to do with their success or failures. But when a king depends on his ministers for success (*sacivāyattasiddhiḥ*), it is their wisdom that achieves his ends, and if they are wanting in enterprise, he must bid a long farewell to all hope of greatness.[6] She counsel of an experienced person is conducive to the welfare of the king, just as a group of ducks was saved by the counsel of an elder.[7] *Amātyas* occupy an exalted position amongst ministers and protect the king, the *rāṣtra*, *durga*, *mitra*, army etc.[8] They keep a check on the king's temper and prevent him from indulging in unseemly pleasure. They purify the earth and unmindful even of their own life, persist in protecting their king when he moves on the wrong path.[9] During our period the minister was sometimes designated as *Rājānaka*. The gloss of the *Rājatarangini*[10] derives the word from its there components—(a) *rājñah* : (b) *ana* ; (c) *ka*.[11]

(i) The person who is completely responsible for the safety (in the form of protecting the kingdom) of a king is *Rājāna*.

(ii) The 'ka' is only a suffix used to denote the very personality of a *rājāna*.[12]

As the body cannot exist without consciousness, similarly without a minister who gives him counsel (*dhīsaciva*) the king cannot be imagined to be competent to distinguish between virtuous and vicious deeds. He is like the vital breath of the king.[13] Sometimes he seems to have wielded considerable authority relegating the king to the background.[14] He is like a pillar in fortitude and tactfully fulfills his duty at the royal court.[15] The *rājyaśrī* of a king does not shine in the absence of a wise counsellor, just as the night without the moon or speech without truth.[16] The *rājyaśrī* of a kingdom without ministers is enjoyed by knaves and the wine servers in brothels, without the least fear of restraint and the free indulgence of sexual pleasures by women in brothels run by harlots.[17]

AMATYA, MANTRI AND SACIVA

The extact meaning of each of the terms *Amātya*, *mantrī* and *saciva* is not clear. *Amarakośa* renders *amātya* as *mantri*, *dhisaciva* and *amātya*.[18] It is not clear from the Amarakośa if there is any difference in their legal and political status, though according to Manu there is a difference in their functions and status.[19] Kauṭilya makes *mantri* equivalent to the chief minister of the modern times and treats other ministers as *amātyas* or assistants of a *mantri*.[20]

From the references in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and *Avadānakalpalatā* it seems that there was close relationship between the *Amātyas*, *Sacivas* and *mantrins*. When Matṛgupta reached the watch-station of Kāmbuva, he found chief ministers *mahāmātyas* assembled there alongwith a number of *janapadas* to whom he delivered king Vikramāditya's *śāsana*. The doorkeepers announced his presence to the ministers (*mantrināḷ*). He received proper welcome from the *saciva* in order of precedence and placed himself on the highest seat. The ministers (*amātyas*) then asked him for the order of King Vikramāditya and on receiving the *śāsana* assembled in private for his *abhiṣeka*.[21] The description of the *Amātyas* does not prove that their position was inferior to that of the *mantrins*, rather it establishes the supreme importance when collected in a body along with people and then their meeting in private for his coronation It appears that *Mahāmātyas* were the *mantris* and only the observance of certain proprieties distinguished them from the general body of the *amātyas*. The *sacivas* here appear to be organised in a hierarchy and seem to have been concerned with the execution of a certain formulated policy.[22] They seem to have acted in unsion. Kṣemendra relates how Hiruka and Bhiruka, the two *Amātyas*, surpassed even Śukra and Bṛhaspatī in *vinaya*.[23] From the same source we find the king reminding his noble minister (*mantrin*) that though he had said what was proper for a *saciva*, he could hardly be averse to the plaintiff's lot in spite of the sound suggestion of the *Mahāmātya*.[24] At another place *Amātyas* are referred to under the title of *Sacivas*.[25] *Mantri* and *dhīsaciva* are used without any differentiation in their meaning.[26] The line of distinction drawn between the three seems to lie in the membership of *sabhāmaṇḍala*. Though the *sacivas* were wise and intelligent in the execution of policies (*kāryyasaciva*), they did not enjoy the status of *sabhāmaṇḍalapaṇḍitah*.[27] So while the *amātyas* and *mantrīs* were the members of the *sabhāmaṇḍala*, the *sacivas* did not enjoy that privilege, their main function, being the execution and implementation of policies[28] as determined by the *amātyas* and *mantrīs* in the *sabhā*. It appears that the *sacivas* were the executive councillors[29] and could be promoted to the rank of the *amātyas* and *mantrins*. But their function was in no way less important and good *sacivas* could be obtained by a king only through some virtue.[30] Amongst the counsellors of a king, *Amātyas* seem to have been mainly concerned with giving wholesome counsel to the king and acting on the *Nīti* of *Bṛhaspati*. A king who is adorned with such an *Amātya* is like a noble person adorned with virtue.[31] The *Amātyas* seem to have been very influential and could raise the deserving princes to the status of *Yuvarāja*.[32] On important occasions the king was accompanied by the *Amātya* whether he led the troops or went to dancing hall.[33] The terms *mahāmātyas* and *mantrīs* have been used as synonyms.[34] Both belonged to the *Sabhā*. The king seated in the *sabhā* said to his chief *amātya* (*pradhānāmatya*) that the *sabhā* looked resplendent with his sweet words and many good qualities. He dispersed the *sabhā* and its *sabhayas* after having conversed with the *amātya*.[35] This leaves no doubt that the *dhīsaciva*, equated with *mahāmātya*, was a member of the king's *sabhā* and familiar with its procedure. His eloquence made the *sabhā* look like Sarasvatī. The *mahāmātyas* who could read the omens played an important part in the *abhiṣeka* ceremony of the king.[36] Sometimes the kings entrusted the reins of government to *Amātyas* who are alternatively addressed as *mantrīs*.[37] The *Amātyas* could deliberate on matters of treaty as well.[38]

From the foregoing discussion it is clear that the terms *amātya* and *mantrin* were used as synonyms. Both the *Rājataraṅgiṇi* and *Avadānakalpalatā* refer to ministers as *Amātyas* at one place and *mantrin* in another. Only *saciva* is used in a distinctive sense as a functionary who did not enjoy the privilege of membership of a *sabhāmaṇḍapa* or *āsthanamaṇḍapa*, though there was a *sacivamaṇḍapa* for the deliberations of the *sacivas*[39]. Only a *dhīsaciva* whose learning and wisdom brought him the rank and status of an *amātya* could aspire for the position of a *mahāmātya* or *mantrin*, otherwise the terms *saciva* and *amātya* were used as distinctly different. There is nothing in our texts to suggest that *mantrins* and *amātyas* were distinct functionaries or that *amātyas* were the ministers implementing the policies in contradistinction to the *mantrins* who were in charge of counsels. Both *Amātyas* and *mantrins* were policy-makers or counsellors of the king.[40] There is nothing to show that *Amātyas* were executive officers. Hence the opinion of Basak[41] that the council of Amātyas was not a deliberative body, but an executive one, forming as it were, an outer council of executive ministers, is untenable in the context of the position and the role of the *Amātyas* in Kashmir polity. While our texts agree with *Amarakośa*[42] that the *Dhīsaciva* is a *Mahāmātya* or *mantrin*, they do not indicate that other *amātyas* were simply *karmasacivas*. Therefore, it appears that when a literary text or inscription speaks of the identity of *Mantrins*, *Amātyas* and *Sacivas*, it only implies that these ministers had combined in themselves the functions of the formulation and implementation of State policies and programmes.

As was the case with king the provincial governors too were guided by their own ministers in carrying on the administration of a province. The *Lokaprakāśa*,[43] while enumerating the details of a Budget (*Śiracīrikā*), mentions *Amātyas*, *sacivas* etc. at their proper place. It seems that the head of the provincial government whether a *Rājasthānīya*[44] or a *Rajnī*, was assisted in the assessment and collection of land-tax and other heads of income mentioned in the Budget (*Śiracīrikā* or *Padārthalekhā*) by *Amatyas*, *Sacivas* etc.

The *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[45] refers to the ministers of a crown-prince. It appears that the princes too had a number of ministers under them, and this must have equipped them with proper training before they took over as independent monarchs.[46] Karṇapa was a ministers of Sukhavarman whom he installed in power as Yuvarāja.[47] The ministers were highly respected and honoured by the kings. Śūra, the minister of Avantivarman, revived learning and honoured learned men with the membership of the *Sabhā* to which they went in vehicles worthy of kings. Śūra would remind the ministers of their resolve to do public good.[48] He and his sons was granted permanent royal prerogatives. He was the main cause of the prosperity of the kindom and the happiness of the subjects. The king, conforming to the pleasures of his minister, bore himself outwardly as worshipper of Śiva, though from his childhood he was a worshipper of Viṣṇu.[49] Mitraśarman, the Foreign Minister of

Lalitāditya, was as great in war as in peace. He secured for his master the most honourable peace while concluding a treaty with Yaśovarman, king of Kanauj. For this act he was rewarded with the title of *Pañcamahāśabda.*[50] He later on sacrificed his life for his master Kuvalayāpīḍa who was outvoted by his ministers in his project of *digvijaya.*[51] Jayāpīḍa's ministers Devaśarman is described by Kalhaṇa as a protecting amulet to his master who felt that with the death of Devaśarman, he had lost his royal power[52] which he had just received through his minister's steadfast devotion and sacrifice in his compaign against Aramuḍi, the king of Nepal.[53] The ministers thus exerted a deep influence on the foreign policy of the king and over all efficiency of administration.

The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and the works of Kṣemendra show that Kashmir had both good and greedy, unscrupulous ministers. Some of them conformed to the ideals of the Smṛti writers while others deviated from them in actual practice. The main qualifications for a minister have been described in the *Nītikalpataru.*[54]

QUALIFICATION OF MINISTERS

The king should appoint him a minister who his disciplined and highly learned. He should be industrious, devoted to his master, sweet in speech and accomplished. He should not harm the interests of the State out of his jealousy of the king. He should be free from the fear of public criticism (*lokāpavāda*). He should be tolerant in times of calamities, self-restrained and controlled in senses. His counsel (*mantra*) should be secret. He should be well-skilled, dear and affectionate to the people. He should be familiar with symbols and signs, devoted to principles and clever in argumentation. He should be brave, should have practised the arts and be free from arrogance and envy. He should be well-versed in the art of elucidation and brevity. He should be familiar with the ways of the spies and attached with their favour. He should know the essence of the six-fold policy (*ṣaḍguṇya*) and should be well versed in the ways (*upāyas*). He should be a speaker and doer as well and should never procrastinate in his duties. His treatment of the royal servants should be equal. He should be grateful and be an admirer of virtue. He should discriminate between actions worth doing and those worth refraining from. He should appoint qualified people to do work according to their qualities. He should be ever intent in doing his work even when the king is not watching and be ever ready to march to battle. He should know what to do in requested matters and know their high or low importance. A minister who does work not in the knowledge of the king, soon without fail incurs for him the enmity of the king. A minister possessed of these qualities promotes the stability and prosperity of the kingdom and the fame of such a *rājya* spreads in all the three worlds.

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According to Somadeva the ministers should belong to a good family, should be young, brave, wise and devoted to their master.[55] A wise minister able to keep his counsels secret is considered to be the best amongst the wise counsellors. A minister who shares the qualities of Bṛhaspati, the minister of Indra, is called *dīrghadarśī*. He should be wellversed in all the *śāstras*.[56] He should be free from fierceness.[57] The ministers should show resolution in a difficult situation through their wisdom, vigour, depth of thought and prowess.[58] They should be honest and loyal.[59] They should be thoroughly well-versed in statecraft and should plan well the strategy of conquests.[60] Intelligence and courage in action are praised in a minister, so is the quality of loyalty in him.[61] Ministers must be men of high character, free from the vices of drinking, gambling, voluptuousness etc.[62] Somadeva in enumerating the good qualities of a minister, lays stress on natives being made ministers, but Kalhaṇa, Kṣemendra and others are silent on this point. All this evidence clearly indicates that while selecting ministers much attention was paid towards their loyalty, learning and wisdom and character. So the king is warned against selecting counsellors who show him the wrong path and lead him astray. On account of these rogues, a loyal servant is never admitted into the presence of the king, as a husbandman cannot get at a crop of rice enclosed with a palisade.[63] For he is enslaved by those faithless servants, who penetrate into his secrets. Consequently Fortune in disgust flies from him, because he does not know the difference between man and man.[64]

We have now to consider how far in actual practice ministers conformed to the high standard, laid down in the texts. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* vividly describes the qualities considered to be most indispensable to a minister. King Jayendra's minister Sandhimati is described as wise, loyal and virtuous and free from levity and dissimulation.[65] Mitraśarman, Lalitaditya's foreign minister (*saṅdhivigrahika*) noticed the absence of the diplomatic politeness in the treaty document of Yaśovarman, the ruler of Kānyakubja and insisted on its proper form, for which he was bestowed the *Pañcamahāśabda*.[66] The ministers during the period of the Kārkoṭas enjoyed prosperity through their efficiency in administration.[67] Alaṁkāra, the Minister of Peace and War, under both Sussala and Jayasiṁha, was a great grammarian and was devoted to works of public utility.[68] Laṁkaka, was a scholar blessed with wonderful power of speech.[69] Jaṭṭa, the Saṁdhivigrahika of the ruler of Dārvābhisāra (Rājapurī) was devoted to pious works and consecrated *liṅga* of Śiva.[70] So was the minister Maṅkhaka, the brother of Alaṁkāra, who established the Maṭha in honour of Śrīkaṇṭha.[71] The Prime Ministers Phalguṇa outshone others by his counsel, courage, energy and other good qualities.[72] Tuṅga, the Prime Minister (*Sarvādhikārin*) of Queen Diddā, was eminently prudent in his conduct and wholly bent on satisfying the people.[73] Naravāhana was a wise minister who spread lustre to the royal dignity.[74] Kavi Dāmodaragupta was the chief minister (*dhī-saciva*) of Jayāpīḍa and was honoured like Śukrācārya of Bali. Manoratha, Śaṅkhadanta, Caṭaka and Saṁdhimat were Jayāpīḍa's poets and Vāmana and others his ministers.[75] Ratnavardhana, the chamberlain, secured by his exertions the kingdom for Śaṁkaravarman and Amātya Karṇapa placed Sukhavarman in power as Yuvarāja.[76] Lalitāditya's discreet ministers are known for their wise action; they did not carry out their master's instructions given in a fit of drunkenness.[77] The relations between Avantivarman and his minister Śūra were perfectly harmonious as between a master giving orders and his servant carrying them out. Avantivarman was grateful and of a mild disposition, and the minister was devoted and free from arrogance.[78] Their relations were never disfigured by mutual hatred.[79] Candrākara was a brave, powerful and most trustworthy minister of Saṁgrāmarāja.[80] Kalyānadevi obtained the office of *Mahāpratīhārapīḍā* for her qualities of liberality and polite attention.[81]

MILITARY PROFICIENCY OF THE MINISTERS

Writers on Hindu Polity rarely refer to military proficiency as one of the essential qualifications for ministers, but most of our writers have placed due emphasis on it. All the ten ministers of a prince are shown to be valiantly brave.[82] A minister was possessed of courage in action, seriousness and bravery.[83] He commanded troops in battle.[84] A perusal of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* shows that ministers usually acted as military leaders or generals as well. Thus Tuṅga, the chief Minister of Diddā, was also the commander-in-chief of the army.[85] There is an instance of a treasurer Trailokyrāja being killed in the fight.[86] One of the chief ministers (*Sarvādhikārastha*) possessed counsel, courage, energy and other good qualities. He commanded a large armed force. He deposited his sword to allay the suspicion of the king that he contemplated any treason against him.[87] At another place, besides being described as prudent in conduct and satisfying the people, a minister is mentioned as being chivalrous and powerful.[88] The importance of military leadership can be judged from the fact that quite often the Prime Minister was entrusted with the command of the Gate as well.[89] Almost all the ministers, including the *Tantrapati* (Minister of Justice) were also great generals besides being scholars.[90] At another place Sujji and Prajji, the two brothers, ever active in battle, are said to have been guarded by the king as if they were his arms and he was their armour.[91] Yaśorāja, the Governor of Kheri, fought against the Ḍāmaras so valiantly that they were shaken with fright when they saw him.[92] All this evidence from Books VII and VIII of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* indicates that for the civil servants and ministers of the king alike military leadership and ability were considered to be necessary qualifications. Not only ministers but even the queens at times led campaigns.[93] Sometimes proficiency in warfare could fetch Prime-ministership to a brave and courageous person.[94] The available evidence in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* tends to suggest that a type of feudal system resembling

Mansabdāri system as it obtained in its fully developed form during the Mughal period, prevailed in Kashmir during the period of our survey. Almost all the officers of the kingdom, including revenue officers, participated in military campaigns. This was but natural in view of the defence requirements of the country encircled by a chain of mountains and narrow passes and para-military tribes. An efficient bureaucracy without an efficient army personnel could not have ensured the security of the kingdom which, therefore, made the administration military-oriented. It is remarked in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that ministers, old in wisdom, protect the king by means of herbs etc. when overcome by the danger arising from ghosts, planets and the like, that from enemies by armed forces, that from weapons by armour and that from internal uprising by their wisdom.[95] Our records clearly show that ministers were generally military leaders and exceptions where this qualification was found wanting were rare.[96]

HEREDITARY MINISTERS

Ministers were hereditary.[97] Manu and Yājñavalkya use the word *Maula*, which is interpreted as hereditary by Kullūka and Vijñāneśvara.[98] Princes were often brought up with the sons of ministers[99] who, when grown up, were to be their counsellors. Kṣemendra in the introductory part of the *Avadānakalpalata*[100] mentions the hereditary succession of ministers in his own family, Narendra, Bhogindra, Sindhu, Prakāśendra, serving under different kings. Similarly *Mahāmātya* Khanda was succeeded by his sons,[101] Gopa and Siṁha and the youngest son of Siṁha succeeded his father. Only in exceptional circumstances was a new person chosen as minister in preference to hereditary ministers.[102] According to the *Rājataraṅgīṇī* under Jayāpīḍa, Devaśarman, the son of Mitraśarman (the minister of Lalitāditya), accompanied his master on his expeditions,[103] and finally sacrificed his life for him.[104] After the death of Candrākara, his son Mayyamantaka became the minister of Saṁgrāmarāja.[105] The family of Vāmanas seems to have supplied ministers to a number of kings. Though we have the names of Vāmanagupta, Vāmanadattācārya and Vāmana, the last one alone can be identified as the minister of Jayāpīḍa (A.D. 779—813).[106] The Tantrāloka tells us that Pūrṇamanoratha was a minister to king Yaśaskara (A.D. 930) and in the same family, the fifth ancestor, Utpalaratha was a minister to king Ananta (A.D. 1028—1063) and the ninth ancestor Sṛṅgārāratha was the minister of king Rājarāja (alias Jayasiṁha A.D. Circa 1200).[107] While appointing ministers the kings paid due regard to their merits and absence of self-conceit.[108] It is thus clear that the hereditary principle in appointing ministers was often followed in actual practice and was abandoned in exceptional circumstances if the son of a former minister did not possess the necessary qualifications or was averse to holding the office.[109] The literary evidence indicates that an ideal minister was expected to be highly learned in *naya*,[110] well-versed in *ṣaḍguṇya*[111] and four *upāyas*[112] and able to lead the army.

TESTS FOR MINISTERS

A king was expected to know about the four *upadhās* to test the real abilities and suitability of ministers to their posts.[113] Damōdaragupta, the Prime Minister (*dhīsaciva*) of Jayāpīḍa (A.D. 751—782) was conversant with the methods of these tests.[114] Somadeva exhorts a Yuvarāja to vanquish his internal enemies and then to appoint ministers for the welfare of the *janapada*; *deśa* etc. He was required to test their faculties in fear, anger, greed and virtue before appointing them to suitable posts and fully ascertain their character through a network of spies.[115] Śivasvāmin says that there is no use testing a minister after he has undergone the three tests just as there is no use testing gold after it has passed thrice through the fire.[116]

RECRUITMENT AND APPOINTMENT OF MINISTERS

Sometimes ministers were appointed from the royal family. Harṣa appointed two sons of a former ruler as his ministers.[117] Vigraharāja, son of Sussala, was appointed *Pratīhāra*.[118] Sometimes the Queens too were appointed as *Mahāpratīhārapīḍā*.[119] It seems that only very trusty members and men of distinction of the royal family were appointed to ministerial posts[120] for fear lest they should enter into intrigues and usurp the throne.

The Smṛti advice that only Brāmaṇas are to be appointed to ministerial posts was not always strictly followed. Ministerial appointments were thrown open to talent and primary consideration was given to the presence of intelligence of godlike acuteness.[121] As the Smṛti ideal about the selection of occupation according to the *Varṇa* was considerably relaxed in practice, the positions in the administration were not exclusively monopolised by members of the two upper castes. Haladhara, a Vaiśya, rose to the position of the Prime Minister (*sarvādhikāri*).[122] A low-born Kāyastha Bhadreśa was put in charge of the *Gṛhakṛtya* office.[123] Śūra who was a brāhmaṇa by caste was the minister of Avantivarman.[124] Chakravarman appointed even *Śvapakas* (men of low birth) as Sacivas.[125] But such instances are very rare. Suyya, whose lineage is doubtful, was one of the ministers of Avantivarman. Kalhaṇa compares him to Viṣṇu for his drainage operations conferring blessings and prosperity on the people During our period caste and residence alone were not the determining factors for appointment to high offices. Talent played on important part. We find that a minister could be removed through Prāya of the Brāhmapariṣad.[126] This shows that it was not the king alone who could dismiss his ministers, but even the *Prāya* started by *Pariṣads* was an effective instrument in turning out a recalcitrant minister.

NUMBER OF MINISTERS

The writers of our period do not mention any fixed number of ministers in a kingdom.[127] It appears that the number was generally either five or ten. On the succession of the infant king Saṁgrāmadeva, a council of five ministers with Parvagupta as Chief Minister was constituted under the Queen Regent.[128] Somadeva puts the number at ten and at another place at five.[129] Though the number of ministers was not fixed, they were many.[130] Most probably the number varied, depending upon the requirements of the State in different periods. As the State maintained a number of assistants to their ministers; it appears that five ministers were preferred to ensure efficiency in administration and secrecy in Council.

The jurisdiction of all the ministers taken together covered the entire field of administration. The line of demarcation in the functions of different ministers was not always clearly demarcated.[131] Generally the ministers were responsible for preserving law and order and the existing socio-religious organisation, promoting peace and prosperity of the kingdom and ensuing a regular supply of income to the king.

FUNCTIONS OF MINISTERS

(Joint and separate consultation)

The ministers enjoyed great power and influence. Like the great Mansabdārs of the Mughal times, they worked in the dual capacity of executive heads and commanders of armed forces. Good and able ministers were highly respected. The relation of Śūra and Avantivarman was an ideal one without any place for envy or mistrust. Mitraśarman was both wise in Counsel and brave in war. The ability of the exalted minister was exhibited in the *Sabhā* as is evident from the epithet *Sabhāvyāsa*.[132] He exerted a great influence upon the king and his policies and checked him from taking hasty action.[133] The success of a king depended upon the advice of his *mantra*.[134] Kalhaṇa makes it quite clear that the role of ministers in Kashmir was always active and powerful. This is in sharp contrast to the eclipse in the position of ministers in Northern India in the Post-Gupta period. The king and his Council of Ministers were guided and restrained by the principles of polity as laid down in the Smṛtis.[135] The ministers played an important role in making and deposing the kings of Kashmir. The ministers worked for the success in foreign policy, prosperity of the kingdom and happiness of the subjects. From the period of the Kārkotās they were honoured with the title of *Pañchamahāśabdas*.[136] Thus Mitraśarman the *Sandhivigrahika* of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, was invested with the title of *Pañchamahāśabdas*.

INNER COUNCIL

It seems that there was small council of five ministers for important issues,[137] such as the question of succession of kings.

The Council of Ministers was consulted on war and peace,[138] *sthāna*[139] (army, treasury, *rāṣṭrā* etc.), sources of income,[140] defence, etc. It seems that the king sought the advice of his ministers both jointly and individually.[141] Kauṭilya was in favour of joint consultation with three or four ministers.[142] Manu recommends that the king should consult the ministers both jointly and separately.[143] Harṣa held joint consultations with his five chief ministers[144] and Jayasiṁha followed the course of individual consultations.[145] Thus the kings of Kashmir followed both the alternatives according to given circumstances. According to the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* the *Haravījaya* and the *Kapphiṇābhyadaya* the ministers should think of *mantra* and *naya*.[146] We do not know whether there was a separate War Cabinet. But the possibility cannot be ruled out. Members of the royal council constituted it. There was always an effect to reach unanimity in decision.[147] It seems that the king subordinated his will to the will of the Cabinet and ruled in conformity with the decisions reached by this body. The council acted to remove the effects of natural calamities.[148] The king was advised to listen to what his ministers said and the latter in turn were expected to think of the prosperity of the king and work for his welfare unasked.[149] The ministers were to act for the stability of the kingdom which was considered more important than the interest of the king.[150]

PUROHITA

The *Purohita* or Royal Priest figures prominently in the Council of the Ratnins during the period of the later Saṁhitas and upto the reign of Jaluka.[151] But it is doubtful if he enjoyed the some importance in our period. During the period from the Kārkoṭas to the Second Lohara dynasty we do not find the Purohita as being included in the ministry. No doubt in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* the king is advised to choose a skilful Purohita, well-versed in *Atharvaveda* and possessing an ascetic nature, but it may be doubted whether he enjoyed any special position in the *mantripariṣad*.

The *Nītikalpataru*[152] gives a very brief account of the qualifications of a *Purohita* which shows a decline in his position. He should be a *kalpjña*[153], full of good qualities, favourable and have faith in God. He should be able to read the divine of astrologers. But a king should not care for a priest who is full of ego and who violates his orders. A Purohita should perform three types of *karmas*, viz. daily routine (*nitya*), work done for some cause like the removing of drought etc. (*naimittika*), and for achieving some cherished aim (*kāmya*). Besides, he should always perform all the work as suggested by a good astrologer. By these actions the Royal Priest was to promote the stability of the kingdom.

The *Nītikalpataru* says that an astrologer, whose guidance the Royal Priest was to follow, should be full of dignity and his words should always be full of truth.[154] He should know fully how to win over fortune by courage. He should not be a fatalist. He should always be protected by the king as he is always engrossed in the worship of deities. Where there is a prudent, religious, conscientious and a mathematician astrologer, there is no dread of serpents, armed warriors, enemy kings, mother, father or relatives. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* informs us how the Purohita functioned as an assistant of the king at all assemblies, at the worship of weapons and other royal functions.[155] In the *Avadānakalpalatā* a king seeks the advice of an astrologer about the city being besieged by the enemy.[156] All this suggests that the priest was asked to perform rituals leading to the victory of the king in the battlefield.[157] As the military functions were performed by a host of ministers, in practice the priest was relegated to a secondary position during our period. His main function was to ward off natural calamities like the fire, flood, famine, disease and pestilence by means of propitiary rituals. Moreover, his place in the council seems to have been taken by the *Dharmādhikārin* and the *Tantrapati* who, in addition to their judicial functions, took an active part in the military compaigns. It thus, seems that the Purohita did not command the same importance as the *mantri* who precedes the *Purohita* and *Rājapurohita*.[158]

SARVADHIKARIN

The *Sarvādhikārin*[159] occupied an important position in the administration and was like the Prime Minister. His status seems to have been equivalent to those of the *Dvārādhipah* and *Saṁdhivigrahika* and lower than that of the king alone. The term is noticed in association with the Kalachūris of South Kośala. One of their records refers to Purushottamadeva, the *Sarvādhikārin* under Ratnadeva II. The term *Mahāmātya* is used by the *Samayamātṛka*[160] probably in the sense of prime minister. In contemporary literature other terms used for a prime Minister are *mukhyamantrī*[161], *agryamantri*[162], *mahāmātya*[163]. It is not improbable that the *mahāmantrī*[164] was sometimes designated by the appellation of *Dhīsaciva*; this post was held by Dāmodaragupta in the time of Jāyāpīḍa.[165] Jonarāja's statement that Koṭādevi, the *sarvādhikāriṇī*, was like *Dhī* and the *Rāja* like the body only refers to the common simile about the mind controlling the body. This shows the supreme importance of the post.[166] It is not known whether the *sarvādhikārin* in the period was 'first among equals' or was really as powerful and honoured as Koṭādevi during the 14th century. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* indicates that his political wisdom and thorough execution of policies earned him a place of honour in the assembly of the wise.[167] *Sarvādhikārin* was thoroughly well-versed in the study of Śāstras, Purāṇas and Vedas. He was an adept in deciding doubtful matters of royal policy (*mantrasaṁśyavinirusya*), skilled in his use of the three royal powers (*śakti-traya*) and six measures (*sādṛguṇya*). His good character was tested by all kinds of tests. He was endowed with the multitude of ministerial qualities (*sarvairamātyaguṇarāśī*).[168] He could vanquish the multitude of princes by his policy as well as his weapon. He seems to have been versed in fourteen sciences[169] and, as the name suggests, he was a *Sarvadarśī* (the Superintendent of the whole administration). As some kings like Bhikṣācara did not have much ability in governing the state, the real power came to rest with the *Sarvādhikāra*.[169] During reign of Ananta, this office was held by Haladhara, a Vaiśya watchman's son.[170] Jayānanda, the son of the treasurer Nāga, succeeded to this office in the time of Kalaśa.[171] After his death, his assistant (*sahāya*) Vāmana was made prime minister by the king.[172] Harṣa made [Sunna, the son of Vajra and grandson of Kṣema (descended from Rakka, a Brāhmaṇa of well-known valour) his prime-minister (*sarvamātya pradhāna*).[173] Sussala made Kāyastha

Gauraka his prime minister.[174] From Kalhaṇa's account it is clear that *Sarvādhikāras* were appointed without any consideration of caste; military proficiency was given the top importance in appointing a person to this office. He accompanied his master on all important campaigns and in one case to avert an impending disaster he burnt himself to death.[175] Tuṅga, a low-born Khaśa from the hills of Parṇotsa, had begun his life as a herdsman of buffaloes and rapidly rising to power had attained the position of a *Sarvādhikārin.* In a successful expedition against Rājapuri, he made its ruler Prithvīpāla pay tribute to his master.[176] But in his expedition for the assistance of Śāhi Trilocanapāla, Tuṅga, as the Commander of the Kasmirian forces, met disaster and consequently the Turuṣkas over-ran the country like clouds of locusts.[177] Kalhaṇa informs us how Bimba, the *Sarvādhikārin* of king Bhikṣācara, leading an expedition against Lohara was completely routed by Sussala.[178] All these instances show that a *Sarvādhikārin* not only excelled others in counsel, courage, energy and other qualities,[174] but was pre-eminently a warrior of tried metal, and besides his administrative functions, undertook military expeditions to secure the predominance of his master over neighbouring chiefs. Prudence in conduct and military skill were important qualities for being appointed to this office.[180] He commanded the allegiance of feudatories and was considered to be free from the guilt of treachery and perfidy which were common during this period.[181] As the overall head of administration, he looked to the restoration of finances.[182] Thus we find that besides his learning and good conduct, efficiency in war, loyalty to the king and his subjects, a sound knowledge of statecraft, and familiarity with state regulations were regarded as the distinguishing qualities of a *Sarvādhikārin.* The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* makes it clear that the kings in selecting persons for this office generally considered their courage and valour in battle and their physical strength also.[183] It is thus evident that the military department was not clearly separated from civil administration and all ministers including the chief minister were expected to be thoroughly conversant withe the art of warfare and to lead the army in the battlefield.

The prime Minister had several secretaries or assistants (*sahāya*) working under him,[184] just as Vāmana was under Jayānanda. He may be regarded as the Vakil of the Mughal times.

SANDHIVIGRAHIKA

The records of our period show that *sāndhivigrahika* occupied a very important place in inter-state relations. As the Foreign Minister of the Kingdom he was very powerful and was influential in all the important councils of the king. According to a gloss on the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, a *sāndhivigrahika* was in charge of matters of reconciliation (*sandhi*) and hostilities (*vigraha*) pertaining to the royal household (*śuddhānta*). This officer was otherwise called *Kaṭakapāla* when working in the capacity of a foreign minister with a contingent of forces under him.[185] Dwelling upon the qualities of a *sandhikāraka* Kṣemendra points out that he should have a thorough understanding of the essence of sixfold policy (*ṣāḍguṇya*), possess knowledge of countries and their languages and be engaged in the work of peace (*sandhi*) and war (*vigraha*). Only such a person well-skilled in *nīti* could function as a *dūta*.[186] This agrees with the account of Lakshmidhara who too takes *sandhivigrahika* to be an adept in all aspects of the sixfold policy, a judge of opportunity and a past master in *nīti* or *naya*.

Mitraśarman, the *sāndhivigrahika* of Lalitāditya, knew the diplomatic niceties so well that he objected to the treaty, document of Yaśovarman's Chancery. For his direction of the Foreign Affairs at home and his skill in dealing with the defeated rulers was conferred the distinction of holding the five offices under his command (*pañcamahāśabda*).[187] Alaṁkāra, the *Sāndhivigrahika* of Jayasiṁha, is praised for his skill in *Vinaya* and *Mahābhāsya*.[188] Ratna, the *Sandhivigrahika* of Utpalāpīḍa, erected the temple of Viṣṇu (Ratnasvāmin).[189] Jaṭṭa, the *Sandhivigrahika* of the ruler of *Dārvābhisara* (Rājapuri) was devoted to pious works and consecrated *liṅga* of Śiva.[190] Alaṁkāra's brother Maṅkhaka, the Foreign Minister, consecrated a Shrine of Śrīkaṇṭha (Śiva),[191] together with a Maṭha. In some cases the post of *Sandhivigrahika* was combined with the office of the betel-bearer (*tāmbūladāyaka*).[192] All this shows that the *Sāndhivigrahika* was a very influential and powerful officer at the court. Undoubtedly some foreign ministers, such as Mitraśarman, became more powerful because they combined the offices of the high Chamberlain (*mahāpratīhārapīḍā*), the chief minister of foreign affairs (*mahasaṁdhivigraha*), the chief master of the chief of the treasury (*mahābhāṇḍāgāra*), the chief revenue officer (*mahāsādhanabhāga*) which were headed by the Śāhī princes.[193] The post in some cases seems to have gone to members of the same family for several generations, for example, Mitraśarman's son Devaśarman[194] and two brothers Maṅkha and Alaṁkāra.[195] Such families obviously played a very important part in the politices of their own times. It is also likely that the *Sāndhivigrahikas* as the head of the *antahpura* (royal herem) possessed knowledge of the family of donors and was therefore invested with the function of issuing land charters to brāhmaṇas[196] and consecrating shrines to deities along with *maṭhas*.

The *Sāndhivigrahika* sent important despatches in the name of the king to the *Sāmantas* and the prime-Minister fighting on the battlefield through some confidential courier (*lekhahāraka*). Thus the *Sāndhivigrahika* as *Kaṭakapāla* enjoyed the full confidence of the king in despatching latter's orders in his own name and headed as the overall command of an expedition and the princes and ministers had to obey his orders. We learn from the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*[197] that from time to time the *Sāndhivigrahika* summoned the feudatories to a Council of 30 Paṇḍits at the capital for mutual deliberations.

Unlike other contemporary kingdoms[198] where there seems to have been more than one foreign minister, in Kashmir there was only one person in charge of this office. He was assisted by *Sandhivigraha-kāyastha* (Secretary to the Foreign Minister) and a few couriers (*lekhakāraka*).[199] His position resembled that of the Mughal *Dīvān*.

The *Sāndhivigrahika* maintained proper control over the feudatories. We learn from the *Rājatarangiṇī* that envoys (*dūtas*) were stationed as the representatives of the Imperial power at the court of the feudatories. It was through them that important messages such as the succession to the throne of a feudatory were communicated and his envoy accredited at the Imperial court.[200]

PRATIHARA

The *Pratīhāra* was an important minister during our period,[201] but not so in other regions and other periods of Indian history. He figures in the State administratron from the Gupta period onwards in epigraphic and literary sources.[202] The *Nītikalpataru* says that the *Pratīhāra* should be tall and strong, pleasing in appearance, skilled, sweet in speech but not haughty, and be able to impress every one. He should be noble, tall and broad, persevering, brave, loyal, and should not be agitated. He should promote the interests of the king on his own and through others as well. But if he looks to his own interests alone he is not worthy of the post.[203] Both the *Nītikalpataru* and the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* stress the military qualities of the *pratīhāras*.[204] He fought in the vanguard of the army along with the *Senāpati* and after a successful expedition both the *Senāpati* and the *Pratīhāra* were rewarded and honoured.[205] The siege of Bāṇaśāla and expedition for the reconquest of Lohara in the time of Jayasiṁha indicates how on critical occasions the supreme command of the army was entrusted to him and he was accompanied by Ḍāmaras, chiefs, ministers, Rājaputras.[206] We further find that the *Pratīhāra* introduced feudatories and others to the court, controlled the harem, served as the bodyguard of the king in war and participated in the meetings of the Sabhā.[207] He seated the ministers and chiefs in proper order in the outer audience hall.[208] He introduced artists from other lands and organised musical concerts and theatrical performances for the king.[209] He made preparations for the coronation of kings and introduced ministers and high functionaries to the newly consecrated king in his assembly. We find the *pratīhāra* (*asthāna*)[210] Ratnavardhana securing the throne for the prince Śaṁkaravarman in A.D. 883.[211] He arranged the marriage of princes and princesses.[212] His role in matrimonial alliances must have further strengthened his powers. Some *Pratīhāras* could play a very destructive role in state administration and drive loyal ministers to intrigues against the king.[213] Thus we see that the Chamberlain was a powerful minister attached to the king. His chief duties lay in commanding troops of the feudatories and princes, taking part in royal coronation,[214] ceremonial and formal introduction of ministers and chiefs, high functionaries and heads of the guilds, connoisseurs of fine arts to the newly consecrated king and usher them in to the king's court, acting as the liaison officer of the armies of feduatories and princes; uniting princes and princesses in matrimony, going on a message of the king.[215] A successful and efficient discharge of these duties must have helped to promote his commanding influence in the inner councils of the king and his feduatories.[216] Though mainly charged with the observance of royal etiquette, he exercised a varied influence on the high functionaries of the state concerned with the formulation of the state policies and court politics. He emerges not as a mere door-keeper (*dvāḥstha*) or staff-bearer (*vetradhāra*) but as an officer closely attached to the king, his council and harem. He was both a counsellor and an army-officer. It appears that the *Pratīhāras* also functioned as *dūtakas* and conveyed land grants to feudatories, confirming the jurisdiction of the vassals over their fiefs.[217]

Men of distinction, in some cases members of the royal family were appointed to the post of the *Pratīhāra*. Āca, the pious son-in-law of Pramoda, lord of Mathura, was king Jayāpīḍa's Pratīhāra.[218] *Vigraharāja*, son of Sussala, was appointed *Pratīhāra* by king Jayasimha.[219] Queen Kalyāṇadevi enjoyed this office in the reign of Jayāpīḍa who installed her in the dignity of *Mahāpratīhārapīḍa* (the Chief of Chamberlain).[220] The Pratīhāra's body, like that of the kings, was tended with saffron ointment.[221]

DHARMADHIKARIN

The *Dharmādhikārin* or the *Dharmādhikaraṇin* was the highest judicial officer of the kingdom, next to the king, who was the chief Justice of the realm. The office (*karmasthāṇa*) relating to matters of justice was called *Dharmādhikarana*[222] (law department) and was first organised by Jayāpīḍa. Jayāpīḍa fixed in the office a Royal plate (*karṇaśrīpaṭa*) brought from the conquered Strīrājya. He was the head of all the *dharmādhikāras* (offices relating to civil and criminal courts as well as to religious and charitable institutions).[223] He was also known as *Bṛhat-tantrapati*[224] and may be compared to the *Sadrsusudur*

Dābdak of the Muslim period.[225] The royal plate placed in the office of the Judge was to remind him of his duty to pronounce the judgment according to the canons of the *Śrīpaṭa* after he had patiently listened to and had gone through the findings of the case.

The *Bṛhattantrapati* or *dharmādhikārin* was expected to be a man of virtue and piety,[226] mercy,[227] and learning.[228] The *stheyas* and jurors or court-pleaders (*prāḍvivāka*) were skilled in advocating issues[229] and the *dharmādhikārins* were expected to have the capacity to protect the just and peace abiding people with a forgiving disposition and inflicting appropriate punishment on those who violated *dharma*.[230]

From the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* it is clear that the *Bṛhattantrapati* besides being in charge of judicial and charitable affairs, had some military duties as well. According to Maṅkha, Śṛṅgāra, the *Tantrapati* of Jayasiṁha, outshone others in the fierce warfare.

The designation indicates that he performed different functions of dispensing justice; leading expeditions and issuing edicts.[231] It appears that he was the *Sarva-tantr-adhikṛta*, keeping a close watch on the efficient functioning of adminstration. For earlier periods we find reference to a judge (*dharmādhyakṣa*)[232] amongst the seven main state-officials, but with the development in legal administration a hierarchy of officers had been evolved by the time of Jayāpīḍa.[233] The cases were tried by a number of judges (*stheyas*) and the final appeal lay with the king[234] assisted by all the judges and *ṣabhyas*.[275] The documents were examined and both the plaintiff and the defendant were heard. Kalhaṇa rightly observes that the king restores the Kṛta Yuga by his sharp judgment, distinguishing between right and wrong and always bent on exercising supervision.[236]

DVARAPATI (DVARADHIPAH)

The *Dvārādhipah*, *Dvārapati* or *Dvāresh* (Lord of the Gate) was next in importance to the Prime Minister (*sarvādhikārin*) and *Kampanāpati*.[237] Most probably he enjoyed a status higher than that of a *Maṇḍaleśa* but was at par with *Rājasthānīya* (*Pradhāna* (*Nyāyādhīśa*).[238] He commanded a unique position in the councils of the king and in the administration of the kingdom. During the decadent period following the end of the Second Lohāra dynasty in A.D. 1171,[239] the Lord of the Gate seems to have assumed considerable powers. He was perhaps one of those ministers who banished King Jagadeva (A.D. 1199-1213) and usurped power during the interregnum.[240] Subsequently, Padma, the Lord of the Gate (*dvārapati*) poisoned Jagadeva to death.[241] His influence and power ended only after his death on the battlefield.[242]

Kṣemendra mentions that a *Dvārādhipa*, (Commandant of the Frontier Gate) guards the *dvāra* and has 60,000 men under his command.[243] Obviously, for the safety of the kingdom from external aggression and stability within the *Dvārādhipa*, like other ministers, commanded a sizable contingent of troops under him.[244] Citraratha, the *Dvārādhīśa* and *Pādāgra* of Jayasiṁha was sent to conquer Lohara. He along with a number of feudatories under his command, encamped at Phullapura [245] Canpaka, the Dvārapati of Durgaghāta, was removed from his charge by Harṣa as was found incapable of withstanding the attack of the Darads and failed to win the co-operation of the other officers of the Gate under him.[246] A *dvārapati* was trained in statecraft (*naya*) and warfare (*parākarma*). For example, Kandarpa had been trained by Jindurājā and hence Kalaśa appointed him to the post. Kandarpa justified his trust by uprooting the Dāmaras and establishing his supremacy over the feudatories. A similar achievement goes to the credit of Malla, the *Dvārapati* of Kalaśa, who won the allegiance of the *sāmantas*[248] and exterminated the power of Rājā Abhaya, the ruler of Urusā The post seems to have been interchanged between Kandarpa and Malla during this period. It appears that next to *Sāndhivigrahika*, the *Dvārapati* was concerned with the efforts of the State to make the *Sāmantas* (feudatories) acknowledge the overlordship of the kings and with organising their periodic meetings. Kandarpa and Malla, the two *Dvārapatis*, through their political wisdom and bravery, made Kīrtirāja, Āsta, Tukka's son Kalaśa, Saṁgrāmapāla, Utkarṣa, Yungaja, Gambīrsiṁha and Uttamarāja, the eight feudatory chiefs, assemble in the capital of Kalaśa.[249]

Quite often the *Dvārapati* was chosen from the royal family if he fulfilled the qualifications for the post. Rājamaṅgala was appointed to the post and displayed bravery in holding the charge.[250] The nearest relatives like the father-in-law and brother in-law of the king on whom he could depend got this important office.[251] Besides the references to his martial qualities, the *Dvārapati* is said to lavish gifts which indicates that he used both the stratagems of policy and generosity to overcome the enemies of the king. Udaya followed this policy.[252] Bimba struck terror in the hearts of the Ḍāmaras by his valour and liberality.[253] In his encounter with the Khaśas, he laid down his life on the battlefieled.[254] All these instances suggest that the post of Dvārapati demanded the qualities of proficiency in statecraft (*naya*) and valour (*pauruṣa*) to secure the defences of the frontier, the allegiance of the feudatories and suppression of the internal uprisings of the Dāmaras and other para-military groups that menaced the stability and security of the *maṇḍala*.[255] From the *Rājataraṅgini* it is clear that this office became considerably important with the increasing turmoil within the kingdom and the weakening of the Central Government in maintaining its hold over the neighbouring chiefs and the defences of the kingdom. Men fit for the assembly of the ascetics were not considered fit for holding a post that demanded "military proficiency, soldierly qualities and valour of a lion."[256] A Dvārapati fleeing from the battlefield became the butt of ridicule for all.[257] Udaya, the *Dvārapatī* of Jayasiṁha has been praised amongst all the ministers as possessing courage, seriousness, valour, wisdom and faithfulness.[258] Mallārjuna, the half-brother of Jayasiṁha, who was made a captive by Udaya, praises the latter for political sagacity and unbounded devotion to his master and requests him to arrange for his safe surrender before the king.[259] These qualities of Udaya secured for him the permanent assignment of the Dvāra even at the hands of Śṛṅgāra.[260] His attitude towards king Jayasiṁha was free from deceit and he worked for the complete success of his master.[261] For the post of Dvārapati a local person familiar with frontier posts was preferred.[262] It is only a rare meritorious king who gets a minister who, when working independently, does not act foolishly in the business of the king, and even when dependent on others does not act harshly or indifferently, and who without deceit applies himself to the task of attaining success for the king, is found only with abundant merits of the king'.[263]

We learn from Kalhaṇa how Udaya, with the help of Dhanya, suppressed a formidable uprising of Loṭhana and his Ḍāmaras supported by Bhikṣu and Mallārjuna against his master. People at the time apprehended that the whole of Maḍavarājya would slip out of the hands of Jayasiṁha and Udaya would either be humiliated for his neutrality or else would be defeated.[264]

All this evidence tends to suggest that the *Dvārapatī* was charged with securing the borders of the kingdom and suppressing the internal revolts against the king. He was expected to possess martial qualities and diplomatic skill to exact obedience from the neighbouring chiefs and suppress internal revolts. Though the post seems to have been hereditary,[265] changes in the office were made as occasioned by the circumstances.[266] A *dvārapati* was expected to maintain a large force to keep the frontier posts and forts under his effective control. One who could raise a large contingent was sometimes promoted to the post. Mantri Praśastakalaśa got his brother Ratnakalaṣa elevated to the post of the *Dvārapati*, although he lacked the essential attributes for this office and was a poor substitute for the brave and tactful Kandarpa.[267] The occupant of this office was expected to have exceptional ability, wisdom and bravery. Only a valiant Malla, elevated from the post of Nagareśa (the City-Prefect) to that of Dvārapati could deserve to be compared with Arjuna of the *Mahābhārata* fame.[268] Only an astute *dvārapati* like Kandarpa, braving all the physical discomforts and hazards of a campaign to Rājapuri and without losing heart by the death of the Senāni Kularāja at the hands of the enemy at a very critical time, entered the city of the feudatory chief and exacted tributes from him.[269] Such a difficult task could hardly have been accomplished by any other officer when the ruler of Rājapuri commanded the loyalty of his subjects, a huge army and full treasury.

Sussala's *dvārādhipa* attacked the ruler of Uruṣa and exacted tribute from him.[270] For this he was rewarded with the command of *Kampanā* or made *Kampaneśa*.[271] There seem to have been two *dvārādhipas*, one for Maḍavrājya and the other for

Kramarājya,[272] though the overall command was possibly exercised by one *Dvārapati*. Thus we see that the territorial integrity of Kashmir was maintained to a large extent by the integrity, efficiency, valour and diplomatic skill of this high functionary. As the borders of Kashmir touched those of China, and Tibet and the side-valleys were ruled by a number of feudatory chiefs, the *dvārapati* played a very important role like the Defence Minister of today. The absence of this office in other parts of India is not accidental. In the plains, particularly the Gangetic Plain, there were no well-defined or demarcated borders to justify the creation of this office. Kauṭilya and others therefore do not mention this office. But Kashmir with its lofty mountain ranges, being landlocked, had a peculiar problem of defence to which the *dvārapati* addressed himself to. The strong fortification of the passes secured Kashmir from foreign inroads at least upto A.d. 1339.

Dvārapati performed some judicial functions as well. Janaka, Ananta's *Dvārapati*, on receiving the orders from the king, executed Ḍāmara Lakkanacandra, the commandant of a frontier-fort.[273]

One *dvārādhipa* met his death through negligence at a place called Vīrānaka[274] (Vīran). Kandarpa successfully repulsed an inroad of the pretender Bhuvanarāja. He tried to prevent the rebel prince Vijayamalla from crossing to the Darad territory by closing the routes leading to it.[275] Malla, the Dvārapti of Kalaśa, waged war on neighbouring chiefs.[276] The Dvārapatis are shown performing their military duties when troubles arose in border territories.[277] His frequent mention in the last two Books of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* clearly shows that as troubles for the Central Government from pretenders and Ḍāmara-Lavanya uprisings increased, the Dvārapati had to be very active and vigilant.

KAMPANADHIPATI

The other titles of the *Kampanādhipati* occurring in the *Rājataraṅgiṇi* are *Kampanādhipa*, *Kampanādhīśa*, *Kampanāpati* and *Kampaneśa*. He is mentioned thirty-six times at different places and occupied an important position like the *dvārapati*, the *rājasthāna* and other high officers.[278] Diddā, after exterminating the treacherous ministers of the previous rulers, made Rakka incharge of the chief command of the army (*kampanā*) which indicates the high importance of this office.[279] When no minister was prepared to assume the charge of the *Kampanā* to expel the pretender Uccala, Candrarāja of the illustrious family of Jindurāja, accepted the 'garland of office' (*adhikārasraj*) from king Harṣa. He is then mentioned as *Senāpati* and compared to Aśvathāma (Drauṇi) who led the Kauravas in the last phase of their final struggle.[280] Jayasiṁha is shown reinforcing the troops of his *Kampaneśa* in the siege of *Bāṇaśālā*.[281] In almost all the sieges, fights, expeditions etc., the *Kampanādhipati* figures as the leader of the royal troops.[282] All this tends to suggest that he was the commander in chief. In the *Lokaprakāśa* he is mentioned in a list of high officers between the *dvārapati* and the *aśvapati* (the general of horse).[283] Kṣemendra says that the greatest unit (*paramakampā*) should repel the terror arisen from the delusion of the subjects. Its officer in charge was expected to assist the subjects in times of great upheavals when normal life was disturbed. It appears that he commanded a very strong cavalary force under him.

Like the Dvārapati a close relative of the king was often appointed to this post.[284] He was charged with suppressing Ḍāmaras, Lavanyas and the rebellions within and tribals outside.[285] Sometimes even foreigners could be appointed to the post.[286] The office could be hereditary if the son displayed military qualities like his father.[287] Sometimes the officer in charge of the Army Uniforms (*ambarādhikārī*) in a *Kampanā* was promoted to the rank of *Kampanādhipati*.[288] It appears that a number of army commanders (*sainyanāyakas*) fought under him.[289] Even the *Kampana-odgrāhaka*,[290] who was most probably 'the Collector of the levies for the army', took part in battle.

The *Kampaneśa*, from the nature of his functions, appears to have been the supreme commander of the armed forces which seems to have consisted mostly of a fine corps of cavalry men[291] The *Kampaneśa* seems to have used his forces to crush the might of the Ḍāmara rebels who frequently disturbed the peace of the *maṇḍala*.

PADAGRA

The *Dvāra* and *Pādāgra* offices could be held simultaneously which indicates the supreme importance of the person occupying them.[292] Etymologically, the terms *pādāgra* means 'a person who stands before the feet of the king' or 'the chief of the infantry'.[293] It seems that the officer of the name of *pādāgra* commanded a force of 15,000 soldiers, *i.e.* one quarter of the troops under *Dvārapati*. From the *Lokaprakāśa* it appears that the revenue officials were either assisted in their work by a regular infantry or were themselves commanders of armed units.[284] As king Ananta was in financial difficulties, it is not unlikely that the *Pādāgra* office, as organised by Kṣema, assumed an overall importance.[295]

The word *pāda* also means 'one-fourth' and *pādāgra* is referred to as a minister who was an expert in raising revenue. Hence we may suggest that *Pādāgra* was a Revenue official concerned with the collection of one-fourth of the taxes from land as king's share and regulating imposts.[296] The State enjoyed the right of examining the quality of gold, weighing it and determining its value and affixing its seal on it. Possibly the state claimed a certain share of its income from the valuables owned by the people.[297] As *pādāgra* combined, like other ministers, revenue and military functions, it is not unlikely that the was under the *Dvārapati* to which post he often aspired. It appears that all the goods passing through the *dvāgra* or *draṅga* (watch-stations) were thoroughly checked and the *Pādāgra* was charged to draft the budget and make rules for the collection of imposts.[298] Like the office of *Dvārapati* this office was also unknown in other parts of India.[299] As many passes negotiated the Kashmir valley, it was only natural that competent revenue minister should check the movement of goods over the passes and also of commodities which arrived at the *draṅga*. Because of its importance, the Pādāgra office we sometimes directly managed by the prime Minister.[300] It appears that the realization of taxes from the *draṅga* and the imports and exports of Kashmir were under the final control of the *pādāgra* officer who passed on to the royal exchequer the king's share and like the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India today possibly regulated the supply of money with gold as its legal tender. From the account of Kalhaṇa it is clear that the *Pādāgra* officer was frequently transferred by the king for fear lest he should become too formidable and resourceful to challenge the authority of the king or enter into secret understanding with his enemies.[301]

Thus it appears that the *Pādāgra* officer determined the rate and quantum of all the taxes to be raised and the dues realized on goods passing through the *draṅga*; the actual work of collection, however, was carried out by the Draṅgapati and his entourage. As the offices of the *Pādāgra*, *Dvāra* and *Kheri* (another revenue office) are mentioned together, the king seems to have appointed their officers simultaneously and a few units of the army were deputed for the collection of different taxes.[302] But sometimes the *Pādāgra* officer appropriated to himself most of the taxes to the detriment of the king's revenue.[303] The *Pādāgra* officer seems to have played and important role in preparing the Revenue Roll (*Śiracīrikā*) and listing the items of taxation (*padārthalekhā*) as is evident from the details under these two heads as given by Kṣemendra in the *Lokaprakāśa*.[304]

The term *pāditarika*, as one of the officers addressed to by Skandagupta in his Bihar Inscription, is mentioned along with Gaulmika, a small military officer.[305] He is clearly the *Pādāgra* of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* who too had a small contingent of troops to assist him in his work like the *Gaulmika* who helped the *pāditarika*, possibly in the assessment and collection of taxes.

DUTA

Questions pertaining to war and peace were discussed in the Assembly Hall *sadasi*).[306] And before the motion for war was carried, a Dūta who also was a member of the sabhā was sent to the enemy to make peace.[307]

A *dūta* (envoy) was expected to be clever in conveying messages. He was as good as a spy for finding out the truth about the affairs of an enemy's kingdom, his allies and the constituents of his state.[308] The words of a *dūta* are the best weapon for kings who desire to conquer a surging host of enemies'.[309] He was introduced to the king of another country by the chamberlain at the gate of the palace,[310] showing thereby the importance of his message. A *dūta* collected information about matters entrusted to his and enjoyed the favour of his master.[311] He tried to bring home to the enemy king the utility and wisdom of statecraft (*naya*) and dissuade him from making war.[312] He enjoyed immunity and personal safety, although at times he provoked the king.[313] It was considered to be improper to utter angry words to a *dūta* 'just as a patient would not take any food causing death in the presence of his physician friend'. Likewise it was not deemed wise to threaten a *dūta* with death. Śivasvāmin says that the king is the custodian of Lakṣmi and the Dūta simply practises sweet words as if the Saraswati were addressing Lakṣmi.[314]

A *dūta* performed the most important function of making peace and preparing the king for war. As he collected the information for his king through spies (*cara*) and used the services of courtesans and female dancers, he had always to be vigilant and watchful.[315]

RAJANAKA

Kṣemendra describes a *Rājānaka* as a pillar in fortitude who tactfully fulfills his duty at the court.[316] Kalhaṇa mentions how Parvagupta, the minister of Saṁgrāma, was motivated by the mixed feelings of kingship and ministership simultaneously in him.[317] As a minister resembling the *ratnin* of the Vedic period he took a prominent part in the coronation of the king and thus developed a sort of mixed feeling in him.[318] The commentator of the gloss[319] of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* derives the word *rājānaka* as follows :—

(1) *Rājānaka* is a synonym of *mantri* which precisely means that he is a *Dhī-saciva*.

(2) The king without a *Rājanaka* is unable to decide on what matters to issue orders and on what not do. The *Rājānaka* assists him in distinguishing between the two.

(3) He is just like the vital breath of the king who would become lifeless without him as an organism without the vital breath.

(4) He is like a king and can act like him.

(5) The person who is completely responsible for the safety and protection of the kingdom.

From this it follows that just as the body cannot exist without consciousness, similarly without a *dhīsaciva* (minister) the king cannot be considered to be competent to distinguish between the right and wrong.[320]

Vogel[321] explains *rājānaka* as a title of (subordinate rulers) vassals, or of the nobility, a suggestion that is untenable in view of what has been said above. In all probability the word was used for the Prime Minister who upto the time of the Kārkoṭās and Utpalas was known by the title of *Dhī-saciva*[322]

It appears that only very important ministers were honoured with the title of *Rājānaka* who possibly took part in the coronation ceremony of the king. Jayasimha appointed Maṅkha to the post of the *Dharmādhikāri*, then to the office of the *Sāndhivigraha*[323], and finally to *Rājasthāna* (or *Rājagṛhya*). As Sussala and Jayasimha appointed Alaṁkāra, Śṛngāra and Maṅkha to high posts, it appears that members of Maṅkhas family enjoyed the trust and confidence of the kings on account of their piety, learning and nobility and commanded esteem and respect in the royal circle. From Viśvavarta, the ancestor of the family, down to Maṅkha: all were honoured with the title of Rājānaka,[324] as is indicated by the colophon of each Sarga of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*. Officers of the state who distinguished themselves by their devotion, selfless service and virtues were thus honoured.[325]

RAJASTHANA (RAJASTHANIYA)

Stein takes *Rājasthāna* in the sense of 'Chief-Justice'[326] and Vogel follows his interpretation. Sircar[327] interprets *Rājasthānīya* to mean 'an officer acting for the king', generally a viceroy, probably also a subordinate ruler. He adds that the *Rājasthānādhikāra* was also a judge; an official title indicating a viceroy in some areas and a judge in others. He was an officer who, according to some had the duty of protecting the subjects.[328] One scholar gives an imaginary interpretation of the term as 'an officer connected with other kings', i.e. a foreign secretary.[329] Using the term in a more general sense, Kṣemendra explains it as 'one who bears the burden of administration for the protection of subjects.[330] The term occurs in the Gupta inscriptions as also the Pāla and Sena records, but we do not get any clue to its exact meaning.[331] According to Majumdar *Rājasthānīya* probably denoted a high official under the king and possibly had the status of a Regent or a Viceroy.[332]

As the *Lokaprakāśa* mentions a fourfold division of courts: *Pratiṣṭhita, apratiṣṭhita, mudrita* and *śāsitā* immediately after the definition of a *Rājathānīya,*[333] it appears that he was an Itinerary Justice of Peace who went round in his area to see if any anomalies had arisen in matters of revenue collection and tried to restore justice in different types of courts. He too performed military duties and alongwith the *Kampanādhipati* and *dvārādhipati* was present at the frontier posts and fought the menace of the Dāmaras.[334] The alternate use of *rājāgṛha* for the same office lends support to our suggestion that he held the royal court as king's representative or locum tenens (Chief Justice) in the *rāṣtra.*[335]

According to the *Lokaprakāśa* he was the heighest revenue official of the Provincial administration and the Revenue Roll was addressed to him.[336]

As he was expected to protect the subjects, it appears that in the dual capacity of a Provincial head cum the highest revenue official, he was deputed by the Central Government from among the judges of the *Dharmādhikārin* and invested with the authority of the *Rājasthānādhikāra* (the office of the court of justice). Most probably he carried out the most important function of revenue collection and administration of justice in the *rāṣtra* on behalf of the king. We find a *Rājasthāna* functioning in the city also.[337] It is possible that these Rājasthānīyas were sent to the province and were also put in charge of the city.

MAHABHANDAGARA

King Lalitāditya instituted the office of *Mahābhāṇḍagāra* as one of the five besides the eighteen offices that existed from earlier times.[338] Stein interprets it as 'the high keeper of the treasury' and one of the designations often included in the *pañcamahāśabda.*[339] To this office were appointed the *Śahīs* and other princes. Since the revenue superintendent (*dhanādhyakṣa*) and the treasurer (*koṣādhyakṣa*) functioned since very early times,[340] Lalitāditya placed the supreme control over the treasury and the royal stores in the hands of *Mahābhaṇḍāgāra*, keeping in view the need of the increasing resources of a growing kingdom.

The *Lokaprakāsa* mentions several other offices in connection with *Bhāṇḍāgāra*, one of which is *Bhāṇḍāpati* mentioned very frequently in connection with the description of *Śira-Cirikā* (Revenue Roll) and *Padārthalekhā* (Heads of Taxation).[341] It appears that precious jewels and the state's share of the produce of foodgrains was collected and finally stored in *Bhāṇḍāgāra*.[342] Under the *Mahābhāṇḍāgāra* were placed the *Gṛhakṛtyādhipati*, the *akṣapataliyā* and the other accounts offices—*śalasthūla*, *nāmeclyāṇaka*, *mithāna*, *navagramādi*, and *śeḍa*[343] which seems to have been subordinate sections of the *akṣapaṭala*. They stored foodgrains, clothes etc. for the chief royal functionaries. As Sajjaka is referred to as the Superintendent of the 'Śeda office (*Śedarājasthānādhikāriṇā*), it is likely that the Seda got its surplus from the other four accounts offices meant exclusively for the consumption of the royal household.[344] Though the exact import of the five accounts offices is not certain, it seems that all the offices put together were placed under the charge of *Mahābhāṇḍāgāra*. The *Bhāṇḍāgārādhikṛt* of the *Lokaprakāśa*[345] and the *Bhāṇḍāgārikā* of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* correspond to the office of the *Mahābhāṇḍāgāra*.[345(a)],

MAHASADHANABHAGA

The meaning of the term *Mahāsādhanabhāga* is uncertain. Stein explains it as 'the chief executive officer'.[346] Sircar[347] equates it with *Mahāsādhanika*, derived from *sadhana* or army, and takes it to refer to a commander of forces or the chief military officer. As it was one of the five offices instituted by king Lalitāditya who placed the Śāhīs and other princes in charge of these offices, it appears that it was the designation of some Military Officer who sometimes enjoyed the revenues of a village, without the power of alienation, to make provision for the entire armed force and the royal stores.

II. THE CENTRAL SECRETARIAT

The King-in-Sabhā constituted the brain centre of the government organism the sensory organs of which were the Central Secretariat and the heads of various departments. The functions of the government were not as complex and highly organised as they are to-day. We do not find the differentiation of departments being observed in all cases and consequently there was no clear dividing line between the civil and military departments, the two functions being invariably discharged by the same officer. Till the time of Jalauka the organisation of government was simple. It was made broad based to include eighteen offices to which five new *karmasthānas* or ministrial offices were added under the Kārkoṭas.[348]

Associated with the court there were several officers called *adhikaraṇalekhaka* (the person in whose presence was executed the sale and purchase deed of land),[349] *adhikaraṇadvija* (a judge in the court of justice),[350] *maṭhibhaṭṭa* (a judge in the court of justice who gave a verdict in civil suits (*jayapaṭṭaka*).[351] These officers were not simply judicial officers but were also connected with matters pertaining to land and thus combined both revenue and judicial functions. We have also *āsthānabrāhmaṇa*, *āsthānadvija*, *āsthānabhaṭṭa*[352] (brāhmaṇa councillors of an assembly), perhaps connected with both judicial and fiscal matters. They drafted *adhikaraṇapatra* (document containing a will).[353] The senior officers of departments were called *lekhakas* or writers. We have a *lekhādhikārin*[355] (an officer in charge of record or instruments in writing) who read out the messages to the king and drafted letters to princes on his behalf), a *lekhahāraka* or *lekhavāhaka*[356] (letter-carriers) and a *paṭṭopādhyāya* (recorder of official documents pertaining to *dānapaṭṭaka* or land-grants).[357]

In the feudual set-up the main burden of administration was shouldered by *diviras* (secretaries) of various description, including *nagara* (towns), *grāma* (village) and *gañja* (treasury) drawn from a general cadre of Kāyasthas well-grounded in officially recognized scripts (*kayasthalipijña*).[358] We have *divirapati* (officer for keeping records and accounts and drawing up the *śāsanas*), *nagara-divira*, *grama-divira*, *grama-divira* who was appointed by the *niyogī* (the tehsildar of today), *khwāsadivira* (land-development secretary), *sthānadivira* (or *āsthānadivira*, the *ahlmad* or *peshkār* of courts today), *aśvaśālādivira* (secretary in charge of royal stables), as *adhyaksas* or supervisors whose duties appear to be similar to those of the *adhyakṣaṣ* in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. They were small in number but were distinguished for superior wisdom and justice.[359]

The *Yuvarāja* is mentioned along with the king which implies that the nomination of the heir-apparent was made by the king during his own life-time.[360] But the selection of the *Yuvarāja* was to have the support of the king's ministers[361] as well as the Yuvarāja was usually associated with actual administration.[362] Great emphasis was laid upon the proper training of the heir-apparent[363] the study of the Vedas, philosophy, political economy, practical training in administration, military exercises and military arts, including archery, swordsmanship, horsemanship, etc. A cool mind, courage to face a situation boldly, cautious enterprise, etc. were the necessary qualities for a successful ruler.[364] Among the moral and intellectual qualities, liberality, *dharma*, discrimination, intelligence, master in *śāstras* and impeccable conduct were considered to be of the highest order.[365] The Yuvarāja was to be exclusively devoted to virtue, to be self-controlled, and was expected to delight the subjects even more than did his father. Probably not all the princes attained such high qualities, but at least some kings did possess it.

When the prince grew up and was married,[366] he was formally appointed heir-apparent. Diddā tested the capacity and innate nature of all the princes before raising one of them to the rank of a *Yuvarāja*.[367] Sometimes the king bestowed the wide powers of a *Yuvarāja* on his brother.[368] The position of the Yuvarāja in administration was next to the king himself. He was anointed by the king and the queen with the holy waters and garlanded with auspicious garlands (*mangalamālā*) and entrusted with the work of administration and was given the sons of the ruling ministers as his ministers.[369]

In theory, the *Yuvarāja* was expected to come up to the standards laid down in the *Smṛtīs* but from the account of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, it looks doubtful whether the crown-prince could guard against the dangers of civil wars and usurpations. Though the nomination of the heir-apparent was done by the kings during their life-time, the frequency of the wars of succession suggests that his succession to the throne did not obviate the possibility of a dispute.

NARMASACIVA

The *Kathāsaritsāgara* introduces a *narmasuhṛd* as one of the three important minister of a king.[370] The *Kuṭṭanīmata* shows a female actress playing the part of a companion of the king (*vayasya*).[371] Monier williams takes the *narmasuhṛd* as a variant of *narma-saciva* and translates it as the 'amusement companion'.[372] He was in charge of the King's dress and pastime (*śṛṅgāra*), an assistant in affairs of love (*śṛṅgāra-sahāya*).[373] The *Mahābhārata* uses the term *narma* to means jokes and laughter and the *Narmamālā* gives three *parihāsas* (pleasantries) in four hundred and six verses. Tapantaka, the son of Basantaka, is mentioned as the *krīḍāsakhā* or *krīḍāsaciva* of Naravahānadatta (the legendary king of Vatsa), the term signifying a 'companion for pleasure'.[374] This shows that the post was hereditary in practice. The *Kuṭṭanīmata* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* show that a *narmasuhṛd* or *narmasaciva* practised mimicry (*narmahāsam*,[375] related stories to amuse the king and his queen[377] and accompanied the latter in disguise to other kingdoms.[377] As *śṛngāra-sahāya* Monier Williams takes him to be a confidant of a dramatic hero. He evidently possessed a fair knowledge of the king's secrets and acted as his emissary on such important occasions as the marriage of princes etc. A prince would confidently enquire from his *Narmasaciva* about the health of the merchants and actors which suggests that he was taken into confidence when dealing with matters of revenue or arranging for his recreations.[378] He was not a mere *Vidūṣaka*[379] with whom Sharma proposes to identify him.

VELAVITTA

Velāvitta appears to have been an important functionary of the royal household who could even rise to the position of a

Maṇḍaleśa.[380] He was a confidant of the king and gave him constant company. His coming to the court indicated the presence of the king.[381] He was the person who knew the opportune time to do things. The meaning of the word indicates that he could be a trustee of the king and perhaps superior to the other servants of the royal household.[382]

NAGKADHIKRTA (NAGARADHIPA)

The office of the *nagarādhyakṣa* dates back to the time of Jalauka.[383] He and the *kampanādhipati* were appointed by the king, the former sometimes being raised to the post of a *dvārapati* (Lord of the Gate).[384] He is shown building shrines and recommending the transfer of officers[385] which suggests that he was the highest officer of the city. He encouraged the queens to pious activities and roused their effection for the people.[386] This would indicate that the *Nagarādhikṛta* was also connected with public works and buildings of the city.

Tawney has restricted the meaning of the *Nagarādhikṛta* or *Nagarādhipa* to the 'head of the police who was to assist the king in keeping a watch over the city and its merchants'.[387] Kṣemendra says that the 'highest officer of the city where rich men reside is Nagarādhipa'.[388] On him devolved the main responsibility of the defence of the city, subduing local uprisings etc., and throwing open and closing the gates of Śrīnagar.[389] His chief function was to apprehend thieves and to listen to cases of land-encroachments.[390] Probably there was no appeal against his judgment,[391] but he was liable to punishment for giving a wrong verdict.[392]

He acted as the Censor of Morals. He censured in public and brought the cases of such courtesans as would charge more before the village *pancāyats*. He fined them for violating state prescribed moral laws.[393] He levied fines on the immoral conduct on the part of married women and on persons guilty of carnal intercourse with dancing girls who had been received into household as wedded wives.[394] He brought the cases of contemplated murders before the court of the king (*rājakulam*).[395] A band of armed city watchmen served under him.[396]

Yaśaskara appointed four *nagarādhikṛtas* to increase his revenue[397] which suggest that they were connected with revenue-collection. One gloss mentions *Nagaradhikṛtas* in the sense of *haṭṭarakṣas* which indicates that he must have taken over the charge of the *aṭṭapatibhāga* also. In the succeeding reigns we hear of only one Nagarādhikṛta.[398] The *Nagarādhikṛta* was thus charged with administrative, revenue, judicial and military functions relating to municipal administration, though his role of the Censor of Morals dominated his other functions.

The city-kotwal under him was known as *Nigrahabhaṭṭa*.[399]

DANDANAYAKA

Stein and Ray take *Daṇḍanāyaka* as the 'Prefect of Police' or the 'chief of the Police Department'.[400] Sunna is mentioned as the chief among ministers,[401] who combined his office with that of the *daṇḍanāyaka*.[402] The South Indian inscriptions reveal that a *Daṇḍanāyaka* was promoted as *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Mahāsāmantādhipati* and *Mahāpradhāna*.[403] As there was no clear cut distinction between the civil and military departments in Kashmir during our period, the civil servants had some millitary duties and obligations as well to perform. They were remunerated for their services with assignments on the revenues of particular areas in which law and order had to be maintained and from which revenues had to be realized.

The *Daṇḍanāyaka* was the chief judge or the Magistrate and had also to shoulder some military responsibility in the kingdom.[404] It seems that the *Bṛhattantrapati* or *Dharmādhikāra* was also designated by the title of *Daṇḍanāyaka*. The available evidence tends to show that though *Daṇḍanāyaka* admits of being taken as a military title, it generally denoted an officer of the judicial department.[405] The judicial department was under a *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, called *Dharmādhikāra* in Ins. No. 50.[406] Prinsep translates the term *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* as 'administrator of punishments (magistrate)' and 'criminal magistrate'.[407]

THE REVENUE DEPARTMENT

The Revenue Department seems to have been headed by *Mahāsādhanabhāga* (the Chief of the Revenue Office).[408] There were different classes of revenue officers under him. It appears that *pramātṛ*, mentioned in the inscriptions of Cambā. held a prominent position among the eighteen elements of the state.[409] The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* does not mention this office, but it is mentioned in the Baijnath *praśasti* which says that Rāma, the author of the eulogies, was the son of Bhṛṅgaka' a *pramātar* of the king of Kashmir.[410] It is taken to denote some kind of a spiritual councillor.[411] Vogel interprets it as a 'judge'[412] as it comes immediately after *rājasthānīya*. This interpretation is supported by Kane who considers him a 'Civil Judge'.[413] A *pramātar* Śrī-Nāga in mentioned as the *dūtaka* of the grant in the Vallabhi Copper plates of Dhruva-sena III.[414] It appears that he recorded the measurement of the donated land ["a person who measures" from the root *mā* (LIE *mē*—) 'to measure')[415] and took care that the rights of people in their lands were not violated.[416] He did not simply act as a judge but was possibly also concerned with the proper division of assets, probably of a permanent nature in land. Majumdar takes him as an officer in charge of land-survey.[417] In view of the absence of any fast line of demarcation of the functions of officers, it appears that a *pramātṛ* combined the dual functions of a land-surveyor and a civil judge to decide the cases of dispute about the division of assets. The office of the *pramātar* possibly existed under the Kārkoṭas and Avantivarman[418] seems to have been later on replaced by the office of the *Gṛhakṛtyādhipa* also known as *Gṛhakṛtyādhikārin*, *Gṛhakṛtyādhipati* or *Gṛhakṛtyamahattama.* He collected the share of the state from the sale of incense, sandal-wood and other articles of worship and possibly from auspicious ceremonious occasions like *yajñopavīta* marriages etc. The office fixed weights and measures, collected *grāmadaṇḍa* (imposts) and *rājasaṃvāha* (general taxes) for the state. It made deductions on account of food supply, price of woollen cloaks and the like to temple corporations (*parṣad*).[419] The *Gṛhakṛtyādhikārin*, five secretaries (*diviras*) and a treasurer (*gañjavara*)—all were appointed by the king.[420] According to the *Narmamālā* the *Gṛhakṛtya* had seven officers.[421] Sometimes a resourceful prefect of property (*arthanāyaka*) would be raised to the post of *mahattama* (or *gṛhakṛtyamahattama*)[422] in recognition of his services. Next in order came the *paripālaka*. Both the *Gṛhakṛtyamahattama* and *paripālaka* determined the quantum of grants to temples, brāhmaṇas and the needy. The *Paripālaka* had an assistant called *lekhakopādhyāya* who was very clever in writing hundreds of documents in a trice.[423]

The term *Gṛhakṛtya* appears to have been used to designate the whole Revenue Department and the general section of the treasury which probably examined in the first instance all questions relating to land-revenue.

KSATRAPA

The *Lokaprakāśa* refers to *Kṣatrapa* (satrap).[424] Vogel emends and reads it as *Kṣetrapa* (protector of the fields).[425] Majumdar follows Vogel and takes the term to stand for a department of land survey.[426] Vogel and Majumdar base their views on the Amgāchi and Bhāgalapur grants where the term stands between *gaulmika* and *prāntapāla*. As Kashmir was at one time a part of the *Kuṣāṇa* Kingdom, it is possible that like many other terms *kṣatrapa* was adopted as a title for officers associated with revenue administration. As the term comes immediately after the description of the Accounts Office, the *sacivas*, *kārakas* (revenue-collectors), the statistics officers (*gaṁpatī*, *saṅkheśānas*), it is likely that *Kṣatrapa* was a revenue-collector who escorted other revenue officials at the time of revenue collection (*tulya-kāla*),[427] invested with magisterial powers to check cases of embezzlement (*śaṭhaśāṭhya*) and was followed by a picked contingent of armed cavalry and infantry.[428]

Kṣetrupa or *Kṣetrapati* is mentioned independently in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. He was the officer in charge of the crown-lands etc.[429]

MARGAPATI

Mārgapati was the successor of the old *draṅgādhipas* or commandants of frontier stations.[420] He seems to have held hereditary charge of specific passes and was bound to furnish garrisons for the frontier posts on all important passes.[431] He was similar to an Excise officer who, like the *drangādhipa*, discharged the functions of collecting customs-duties on the roads, maintaining them, providing protection, supervising the pastures (*Kashmiri* : *marga*) and paying periodic visits to villages.[432] *Śulkādhyakṣa* or *Śaulkika* (Superintendent of Customs) probably served under him.[433]

Ray's suggestion that he was the head of a district is wrong.[334]

ATTAPATIBHAGA

Aṭṭapati (*Haṭṭapati*)[435] was presumably the Superintendent of markets who collected one-fourth of the state dues on instalments of agricultural produce and merchandise brought for sale to the market (*aṭṭapatibhāga*). He was to look to the safety of traders, businessmen and other merchants.[436] Perhaps the Inspector of Weights and Measures (*tulāmānabhāṇḍāgrahāraka*) was subordinate to him.[437]

Though the *Aṭṭapatibhāga* was organised by Śaṅkaravarman, it seems to have existed much earlier.[438]

Harṣa appointed a number of prefects to supplement his income from a number of sources. *Devotpāṭananāyaka* was appointed Prefect for the overthrow of divine images, *Arthanāyaka* for plundering the property of all temples and oppressing the peasants, and *Purīṣanāyaka* for taxing night soil.[439] Of these the *Arthanāyaka* was made a *mahattama*. They did not form a permanent class of officials but were created to meet the extravagant demands of a whimsical ruler like Harṣa.

BHOGAPATI

Bhogapati probably collected the tax referred to as *bhoga.*[440] He seems to have been remunerated by a land assignment. He received seventy-five *dīnāras* a year from his cultivator as his share in cash in addition to his share of produce in kind.[441] He was a petty feudal chief. He had a feudal assignment or fief (*bhoga*),

AKSAPATALIYA

Akṣapataliya or *Akṣapaṭalādhīśa* was the officer in charge of the *akṣapaṭala* office.[442] He was appointed by the king. Stein takes *akṣapaṭala* as the "Accountant General's Office" and Fleet "Record Office" or "Court of Rolls".[443] From the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* we learn that the functions of this office were :

(a) scrutiny of the title deeds issued to the donees of the land-grants.[444]

(b) maintaining an accurate record of accounts.

(c) supervising the work of other five subordinate *gaṇanāsthānas* (Accounts-offices).[445]

(d) assessment and collection of land-revenue and the issuing of title deeds.[446]

The *akṣapaṭala* office was guarded by a large group of para-military tribe called *Ekāṅgas*.[447] *Akṣapaṭala* thus appears to be the Department of land records charged with the function of maintaining accounts of land-revenue and other sources of state income.

THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT

The *Koṣādhyakṣa* figures next to *dhanādhyakṣa* which shows the importance attached to the Revenue and Treasury Departments.[448]. The *Mahābhaṇḍāgāra* was one of the five *karmasthānas* (offices) instituted by Lalitāditya Muktāpiḍā.[449] The *Bhāṇḍāgārādhikṛta* of the *Lokaprakāsa* and *Bhāṇḍāgārika* of the *Kathāsaritsagara* corresponds to this officer who had a number of *Bhāṇḍapatis* (accountants) under him.[450] Stein interprets *Mahābhāṇḍāgara* as the 'high keeper of the treasury'.[451] Tripathi renders *Bhāṇḍāgārika* as the Superintendent of stores who had to see that all necessary articles were kept in readiness and that their distribution was in accordance with the king's orders.[452]

The *Koṣādhyakṣa* (*Koṣādhipati*) or *Gañjādhipa* took part in campaigns as a military commander.[453] He regulated the supplies to the army and controlled the expenditure incurred on it.[454] The punishment for the embezzlement of funds was death-sentence.[455]

The treasury appears to have been well organised. The treasury-office was called *gaṇāna-maṇḍapa*.[456] Officers in charge of accounts were :—

(1) *Gaṇanāpati*—Accountant.[457]

(2) *Gañjavara*—Treasurer.[458]

(3) *Gaṇaka, gaṇaśīla, saṁkhyāpati.*

Names of the officials in charge of accounts. One who was an expert in calculating the numerals of various scripts was appointed the Chief Accountant.[459] He was also called *Gaṇanāsvāmī.*[460]

(4) *Gañjādhipati, gaṇādhyaksa* or *gañjesa, gañjādhipa,*[461] *gañjādhikārin.*[462]

(5) *Bṛhadgañja-ganjeśa* or *Bṛhadgañjadhipa*—Superintendent of the Chief Treasury.[463]

(6) *Praveśabhāgika*[464]—Cashier.

It seems that a number of imposts (*gañja*) were established by the Suprintendents of the Treasury after their own name, *viz. calagañja* (a mobile treasury accompanying the army during its campaigns), *sindhugañja* (an impost raised after the name of Sindhu, the *gañjeśa* of Abhimanyu.[465]

(7) *Mayagrāmīnagañja.* The *gañja* of Mayagrāma and other unspecified *gañjas* were established by Queen Śrīlekhā (A.D. 1003-1028).

(8) *Jayākaragañja* and other *gañjas* established by Jayākara, the treasurer of Saṁgrāmarāja (A.D. 1003—1028).[466]

(9) *Kalaśagañja*[467]—Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-1089) established the *karmasthāna* (revenue office) called *Kalaśagañja* and confiscated the villages which formed the endowments of the Avantisvāmin and other temples.

(10) *Dvādaśabhāga*[468]—Kṣema, the barber (*bālabhañjaka*) under king Ananta secured *dvādaśabhāga* (impost of one twelfth). He organised the Pādāgra office.

The *gañjas* referred to above indicate separate funds for which items of revenue were assigned from different villages. These funds received their names from the persons who organised them and from the place which supplied their revenue. Thus it seems that kings, queens, ministers and other officers had their own assignments of land from which they could raise additional revenue for their personal use and have them managed by distinct officers. This again confirms our views about the feudal polity of Kashmir.[469]

MAHASVASALA

However, considerable importance was attached to cavalry. We find a *Mahāśvaśālā* amongst the five principal *karmasthānas* during the period of Lalitāditya.[470] Before him the officer in charge of horses, elephants etc. was the *Aśvaghāsa-kāyastha* whom Stein takes to be a 'minor officer in charge of the fodder for horses'.[471] Stein explains *Māhāśvaśālā* as 'the chief Master of the Horse'. In fact, these officers held the overall charge of all the riding animals, including the horses, elephants and possibly also of the chariots.[472] As the horses outnumbered the elephants,[473] the officer was designated as *Mahāśvaśālā*. The importance of the office is revealed by the fact that Bālāditya, the last ruler of the Gonandīya dynasty, was succeeded by his *Aśvaghāsakāyastha* Durlabhavardhana, who was chosen by the ministers of the reigning king.[474] This shows the importance of the office, which is independently indicated by the law-book of Bṛhaspati also.[475]

There were several officers in charge of the various duties in the army.

1. *Kampanodgrāhaka*[476] : Probably the collector of levies for the army.
2. *Kaṭakavārika*[477] : Probably an officer in a cantonment.
3. *Koṭabhṛtya Koṭapadāti*[478] : Garrison troops-footsoldiers garrisoning the castle.
4. *Ambarādhikāri*[479] : Superintendent of clothing in the army. Appointed *Kampanādhipati* by the king.

MAHATTARA[480]

According to Pargiter "Mahattaras were the men of position in the villages, the leading men." He suggests that the word *mātabhar* or *mātabar*, used as a common title for the headman of a village in East Bengal, is probably a corruption of *Mātarbar*, that is *Mahattara-vara*, "the chief of the leading men."[481] Majumdar follows this interpretation.[482] Ghoshal, however, regards *mahaṭṭaras, kuṭumbins* and even *prakṛitis* not as 'private individuals' but as 'officials' and 'administrative agents.'[483].

MAHATTAMA[484]

The term is of uncertain import. The *Lokaprakāśa* mentions in its list of officials a *rājamahattama* who according to Kṣemendra clarified doubts and difficulties involving popular plaints or petitions or who expounded the intricacies besetting the worldly matters.[485] This would suggest that he interpreted secular matters. There could be more than one *mahattama* at the same time.[486]

M'ANDALESA (MANDALESITR)

An officer of the name of *Maṇḍaleśvara* or *Maṇḍaleśa* in mentioned in connection with Lohara,[487] Kramarājya[488] and Maḍavarājya.[489] Lohara was annexed to the kingdom of Kashmir in the period of Loharas and a *Maṇḍaleśvara* was appointed by the king. Likewise Kramarājya and Maḍavarājya had their own *Maṇḍaleśas*. Although Kramarājya and Maḍavarājya were called *rājyas*, Lohora was designated Maṇḍala. However, the governors of all the three fiscal units were called *Maṇḍaleśvaras*.

The use of the term *Maṇḍala* is much confusing. In certain inscriptions it is used in the sense of a country[490] in which sense it has generally been used in most of our literary texts, including the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. At some places the term has been used in a much narrower sense of a smaller territorial unit,[491] the size of *maṇḍala* being less than a *viṣaya*. But in the title *maṇḍaleśvara*, often referred to in the *Rājataraṅgiṇīs* of Kalhaṇa and Jonarāja and Śrīvara, the term stands for a fiscal unit larger than a *pradeśa*. Tripathi considers *bhukti*, *bhumi*, and *maṇḍala* the equivalent words for a province.[492] Perhaps it is in this sense that the term *maṇḍala* was used for the jurisdiction exercised by a *Maṇḍaleśvara* over it. We feel that the organisation of Kashmir into three *maṇḍalas*, strictly speaking one *maṇḍala* and two *rājyas*, was made on the basis of their revenue-yielding capacity and the officer in charge of each such fiscal unit was called a *māṇḍalika*. The organisation of these fiscal unit seems to have been made on the basis of their income and not the area of the land they convered.[493] The Māṇḍālika provided military service to the king.[494] He may have paid regular or occasional tributes also.

There were separate officers under him in charge of *koṭṭas* and these were known as *Koṭṭapatis*. *Koṭapadāti* or *Koṭabhṛtya*[495] repeatedly mentioned with Lohara were the Killadār troops kept up in small detachments for the garrisoning of the numerous small forts.

REFERENCES

1. *RT* I 118-120.
2. *Mbh. Sabhā* 2.5.27 (BORI, Poona) ; *Ayodhyā* 100 36.
3. *AŚ* 1.12.6.
4. *Kapp*. V, 20 ; *PV* IX. 41.
5. Cf. *Bhartṛnītiśataka* 35 ; *PV* IX. 41 ; *KSS* X.6.103.
6. *KSS*, Book III, Ch. XV, 57-60 (Tawney's ed., 1968).
7. *BKM* p. 583.
8. *AKL* 66.25.26.
9. *RT* IV 321.
10. *Ibid* VI 117, SA$_2$ gloss.
11. The break-up of the worn is thus : *rājnah* (of the king), *ana*, *prāṇan*, *jīvana* or *dharitrirakṣaṇa yasmat* from whom that person is *rājāna*.
12. *rājāna evam rājānakah*. Just as Devadatta is Devadattaka to denote his very personality, so is *rājānakah*.
13. *rājnaḥ anah prāṇa eva*.
14. *RT* VI 117.
15. *LP* IV p. 58.
16. *RT* VI 279.
17. *Samaya*. 1.45. *Puspamalī* has a suggestive meaning. After mensuration women in brothels enjoy freely and without restraint.
18. *Amara*. 2 ; *Kṣatriyavarga* : 4.
19. *Manu*. 7 : 54 ; 60 : 1.
20. *AŚ* 1.10.16.
21. *RT* III 228-237 ; also *AKL* XXXII 35-36.
22. *Ibid* VIII 175 ; *AKL* XXXV 10-13.
23. *AKL* Pallava 40.6.

24. *Ibid* Pallava II 24-25 ; Pallava 40.10-11.
25. *Ibid* Pallava 40.112.
26. *RT* II 65, 67 ; VIII 175.
27. *RT* XXIX.13, 37.
28. *Ibid* IV 310-311.
29. *Ibid* VIII 175.
30. *AKL* Pallava XIX.140,
31. *Ibid* Pallava V 18-19.
32. *RT* V 129.
33. *AKL* Pallava 66. 29, 81.
34. *AKL* Pallava XXIII 9-15.
35. *Ibid* Pallava 53.8-9, 29.
36. *Ibid* 32.35-36.
37. *Ibid* 33.22-24.
38. *RT* VIII 2499.
39. *LP* p. 3.
40. *Srīk.* XXV.20.
41. *IHQ*, I, p. 524.
42. II, 8.4.
43. *LP* pp. 61-63.
44. According to Dr. R.N. Singh *Rājasthānīya* was concerned with the administration of justice. But from the description of this officer in the *Lokaprakāśa* IV it appears that he was the highest functionary of the provincial administration, most probably the Governor of the province. (see Singh : *RT* VII, pp. III, 601) n.). Only a very trusted and highly devoted person was appointed to this office (see *RT* VIII 18.1).
45. *RT* V 128 ; IV 374-375 ; VII 678 ; *KSS* XII. 2.17.20. The *Rājakumāra* had ten ministers of a noble descent, young, brave, intelligent and devoted to their master.
46. *KSS* XII.2.17.20.
47. *RT* V 129.
48. *RT* V 32-36.
49. *RT* V 42-43.
50. *Ibid* IV 137 sqq.
51. *Ibid* IV 377-391.
52. *Ibid* IV 584-586.

53. *Ibid* IV 567-583.
54. *NKT* pp. 177-178. *Priyadarśana* has generally been taken in the sense of 'pleasing in appearance'. The context here, however, clearly refers to the 'learning' and 'self-discipline' of the minister.
55. *KSS* XII. 2.17-20 ; *RT* VIII 1360.
56. *Ibid* 47, 52 ; XVI, 1.23 ; XII. 19.5.
57. *RT* VI 298.
58. *Ibid* VIII 2282.
59. *Subhāṣita* 2819.
60. *KSS* III. 5.2.
61. *RT* V 312; IV 297, 333, 378-80, 551; V 3, 62-63.
62. *Ibid* V 163 ; IV 310-313 ; VIII 412 ; VIII 863 ; 1466-1467.
63. *KSS* VI, Ch. 34, pp. 312-313 (Munshi Ram ed.).
64. *Ibid* VI 8.204.
65. *RT* II 65 sqq.
66. *Ibid* IV 135-140.
67. *Ibid* IV 710-711.
68. *Śrīk*. III. 62; XXV 43, 61; *RT* VIII 2423.
69. *Ibid* XXV 43, 61.
70. *RT* VIII 2427.
71. *Ibid* VIII 3354.
72. *Ibid* VI 199.
73. *RT* VII, 37.
74. *Ibid* VI 260, 279.
75. *Ibid* IV 496, 497.
76. *Ibid* V 128-129.
77. *Ibid* IV 320.
78. *Ibid* V 3-4.
79. *Ibid* V 63.
80. *Ibid* VII 5, 32.
81. *Ibid* IV 485.
82. *KSS*. XII. 2.18-20 ; *RT* 496-99.
83. *RT* VIII 2282.
84. *Ibid* 1709, 1882-1885 ; VI 352.
85. *Ibid* VII 90, 11 ; VI 333.
86. *Ibid* VII 93.
87. *Ibid* VI 199-207.
88. *Ibid* VII 37, 5.

89. *Ibid* VII 364.
90. *RT* IV 137-139. They were as much well versed in warfare and the bearing of arms as they were in the sacred love of putting the king on the right path of virtue. Mitrāsārma was an embodiment of such qualities. VII 1362.
91. *Ibid* VIII 1088 ; 1126. Sujji was the chief Justice of Sussala and Prajji, the Lord of the Gate in the same reign. They were *Saindhavas* (in the Indus region) (VIII 1046, 1042).
92. *Ibid* 1118-1119 ; 2925-2929.
93. *Ibid* V 219-223.
94. *Ibid* 424-425.
95. *RT* VII 669.
96. *Ibid* VII 1362.
97. *Ibid* VII 656, 865, 2473, 2476, 2477, 2479.
98. *Manu* VII, 54 ; *Yāj.* I, 312.
99. *KSS* XVIII. 1.51.58 ; XII. 7.47.
100. *AKL* Intr. 1—4, p. XXV.
101. *Ibid* Pallava XX 3—10, 21—23, 30.
102. *KSS* VIII.6.126 sqq.
103. *RT* IV 469.
104. *Ibid* IV 584—586.
105. *Ibid* VII 5, 32.
106. *Ibid* IV 497.
107. *Tantra*. Comm. XII, 428—434.
108. *RT* VIII 578.
109. *Tantra* Vol, I, pp. 2-3. Jayaratha says how many chiefs would come to Kalyāna or Kalhaṇa to seek his advice. But most probably owing to the tragic end of Harṣa on the stage of the world which was enacted before the very eyes of his father, he seems to have felt reluctant in accepting the office of the minister.
110. *PT* II 44.
111. *Ibid* VI 44.
112. *Ibid* IX 44.
113. cf. *AŚ* 1.10.1 ff.
114. *Kuṭṭ* 209.
115. *KSS* VI. 8.190—205 , cf. *Kāmandaka*. Sarga IV ; *Yāj.* I.338 etc.

116. *Kapp*. V. 16.
117. *RT* VIII, 884, 1046, 1042.
118. *Ibid* 1936.
119. *Ibid* IV. 485.
120. *Ibid* IV 513.
121. *KSS* Book I. IV (concluding portion)—Munshiram ed. (1968).
122. *RT* VII 208.
123. *Ibid* 42.
124. *Ibid* V 32.
125. *Ibid* V 390, 391.
126. *Ibid* VI 344 ; VII 9, 107-108, 110, 38, 43, 106, 13—15.
127. Cf. The *Mbh.* and the *Rāmāyana* favour a ministry of eight, (*Rāmāyana* 7.2.3 (The Balakanda (7.2.3) Rama. of Vāl, ed. by R.N. Aiyar at the Madras Law Journal office, 1933) ; *Mbh* (*Śānti* 85.7.11 ; Nīlakaṇṭha, Bombay ed.) ; Manu reduces the number to seven also, the *Artha-śāstra* gives it as 12, 16, 20 according to different schools of polity (see *AŚ* 1.15 ; *KNS* 11.67-68 ; (Bṛhaspatya has thirteen, Ausānas 20).
128. *RT* VI 103, 115 ; V 422-423 ; VII 1043.
129. *KSS*. XII. 2.18-20 ; 7.1-2.
130. *PV* XI. 24.
131. *KSS* Book III, Ch. XVII, p. 118 (Tawney's ed. Munshiram).
132. *PV* XI. 3.
133. *Ibid* XI 3—4.
134. cf. *Br. S.* IV. 27 (Thomas ed. 1922).
135. *KSS* 1 : 58-59.
136. *RT* IV 140 to 143, 512, 680.
137. *RT* IV 140 to 143, 512, 680.
138. *Ibid* V 422 *Pradhānāmātyamaṇḍalam* (Avadāna. 42.6-8).
139. *KSS* XIV. 4.208-209 ; Kapp. ; *RT*. Books VI-VIII passim.
140. *Maṅkhakośa* 867.
141. *RT* IV 377-89 ; VII 230-31. It seems that Kuvalyapīḍa's project of *Digvijaya* was vetoed by the majority and he had to abdicate ; *RT* 1386, 1391, 1408, 1415 ; VIII 1362, 1364, 1390, 3082-3083.

142. *AS* I Ch. 15.
143. VII 57.
144. *RT* VII 1043--*pancaniyagryamantrinah*, 1386, 1391, 1408, 1415.
145. *Ibid* VIII 3082-3083.
146. For a detailed discussion of *naya* and *mantra* see the *Haravijaya* and *Kapphiṇābhyudaya*.
147. *Hara*. VII ; *Kapp*.
148. *AKL* Pallava 42.6-8.
149. *KSS* X. 4.44.
150. *RT* IV 356-57.
151. *Ibid* I 118-119; cf. Maitrāyani and Kāṭhaka Saṁhitas, 1-3.
152. *NKT* 92.1-3 ; *VDP* V 175.1.14 ; *NP* 839.
153. *Ibid*. A *kalpañja* is one who is well-versed in astronomy, the Vedas, has full command over language and is full of forbearance.
154. *Ibid* 93.4-6.
155. VII.246.
156. *AKL* 64.163-164.
157. cf. Even in the Vedic period we find him accompanying the king to the battlefield to ensure his victory by his prayers, charms and incantations.
158. *LP* p. 3.
159. *RT* VI 199, VII 568, VIII 560 ; cf. *EL*, Vol. I, p. 333, vs. 5-7.
160. II.52 ; *RT* VIII 2460, 2470.
161. *RT*. V 425 ; VIII 2360.
162. *Ibid* VIII 1382.
163. *AKL* LXVI.11.
164. *KSS* XII 19.9-11.
165. *RT* IV 496, *Dhi* in the *Nītikalpataru* (89.1-2) is compared to an arrow that accomplishes the desired goal. Kṣemendra refers to its importance thus.
166. *Jona*. 226.
167. *RT* VII 569.
168. cf. *CII* vol. IV, part 2, No. 90 (11 17-22) ; Plate LXXIII, p. 463 ff. Koni stone Inscription of Prithvideva II : (Kalachuri) year 900 (corresponding to 1147-48 A.C) ; *RT* VI 333 ; VII 568.

169. *RT* VIII 859, 862.
170. *Ibid* VII 208-16, 220-31, 268-71.
171. *Ibid* VII 275, 364.
172. *Ibid* 568-569.
173. *Ibid* V 424 ; VII 894.
174. *Ibid* VII 560.
175. *Ibid* VII 1429 sqq. This is what Bhāvasvāmin, the chief minister of Lalitaditya did when the latter was made a prisoner by the enemy (*Ibid* 1431-1451).
176 *RT* VI 348 sqq.
177. *Ibid* VII 46 sqq.
178. *Ibid* VIII 884 sqq.
179. Supra.
180. *RT* VII 37, 5.
181. *Ibid* VIII 1547, 835, 1363-65, 3099 etc.
182. *Ibid* III 139-40.
183. *RT* V 424-425 ; VI 199, 204, 207 ; VII 5, 37.
184. Supra.
185. *RT* VI 110- SA_3 gloss. Sandhivigrahika was the officer incharge of foreign affairs, war and peace, royal household and the commander of a contingent of troops.
186. *NKT* 116.4 ; *RT* IV 503, 504 ; cf. *K. Ktr. R.*, IV 26 ; cf. *VDP* II.24 16-17 ; *Matsya Purāṇa* 214.16.
187. *RT* IV 137-142 ; *Yasas.* Book III for interesting court practices in the conduct of foreign policy.
188. *Śrīk.* XXV 61, 75. *Alaṁkāra*, who was a great grammarian, held the office of Sāmdhivigrahika during Sussala's reign and also under Jayasiṁha. He appers to be the Alaṁkara mentioned so frequently in the eighth canto of the *Rājataraṅginī* in connection with Bhoja's rebellion against Jayasiṁha. (*Śrīk.*, Canto III.62, XXV 43, 61).
189. This would agree with the account of Somadeva Suri (*NVA* 32.2 sq.) who in his long list of the qualifications of the minister for war and peace, says that he should know grammar and logic, various scripts and languages, the *varṇāśrama* laws, *vyavahāra* (customs) and *sthithi* (usages).
190. *Ibid* VIII 2427.

191. *Ibid* 3354 ; *Śrīk.* XXV 62 ; Maṅkha seems subsequently to have succeeded his brother as the Foreign Minister (Comp. *RT* VIII 3354).
192. *Ibid* VIII 1304.
193. *Ibid* IV 142-143.
194. *Ibid* 551.
195. *Ibid* VIII 2422, 2423. Śṛṅgāra, the eldest brother of poet Maṅkha, held the office of *Brhadtantrapati* or *Dharmādhikārin* (*Jon. Śrīkantha*, iii.50). Alaṁkāra was the *Rājasthānīya* besides holding the charge of the great treasury (*bṛhadgañja*).
196. *Yaj* I, 319-20. 'the drafter (of a copper plate charter) should be the foreign minister ; he should draft the charter at the dictate of the king himself'.
197. XXV ; cf. *Mānasollāsa*, II.128 ; In this Sabhā which was held in Alaṁkāra's house, Suhala and Tejakaṇṭha, the ambassadors of the Gahadavāla and Silahara princes respectively were present (XXX, 102 and 110) ; *RT* VIII 2423.
198. *IA*, V, 277.
199. Supra ; *Narm.* II.143 ; *BKM* 16. 236-237.
200. *RT* VIII 1490-1491.
201. *Ibid* VIII 1567, 1599-1603, 1895.
202. *CA*, p. 343. Bhiṭa seal No. 3 refers to tthe *Pratīhāra*. Basarh seal No. 16 and 18 in Bloch's list refer to the *mahāpratihāra* ; *RT* IV.142 ; *KSS* XII.5.24.
203. 115.1-2.
204. *RT* VIII 1567-1568 ; 1683.
205. *KSS* IX.4.220-221, 233 ; XII.4.111-112. cf. the *Agni Purāṇa* which places the *Pratīhāra* next to the commander-in-chief and before many other important functionaries.
206. *RT* VIII 1677 sqq ; 1840 sqq.
207. *KSS* XVIII.3.3-6.
208. *RT* V.354-355.
209. *KSS* IX.5.33-36.38 ; XII.26.142.
210. *Ibid*, *RT* VII 232-235 ; cf. *Agni*, 218.31.
211. *Ibid* V 128-129 ; *DHNI*, Vol. I Cal. 1931, p. 117.
212. *KSS* XVII.3.84 ; 6.10-11 ; *RT* VIII 1570, 1647-48.
213. *RT* VIII 1609 sqq.

214. *RT* VII 232, 234-237.
215. The modern Krām *Paḍḍar* seems to have been derived from *pada-hara* or *pratīhāra* whose main function was to carry messages from king to king.
216. *RT* VIII 1895, 1897.
217. Supra ; VIII 1897-1903.
218. *RT* IV 513.
219. *Ibid* VIII 1926.
220. *Ibid* IV 485.
221. *Ibid* VIII 1897-98.
222. *Ibid* IV 588 ; *EI* 18, 23, 25 ; *CII* 4 ; Lekhapa, GOS, No. XXI, pp. 97-128 ; *HDS* Vol. III, p. 126, f.n. 167 ; cf. *Mānasollasa* 2.2.93 ; *Mat.* p. 215.24.
223. *Jona* 11.
224. *Śrīk.* iii.50 (explained by Jonarāja as *dharmādhikārin* a 'Judge') ; *RT* VIII 2422.
225. *Journ. As. Soc.* (*Pak.*), Vol. IV, pp. 53-54.
226. *RT* VIII 2422 , cf. *Āpastambadharmasūtra* 2.11.29-5.
227. *Jona*, 11.
228. *Śrīk.* iii.45-51.
229. *RT* VI 28-29 ; *Jon.* 959 ; cf. *Rājanītiratnākara*, p. 18 ; 'prāḍvivāka' (*Gautama*. 13.26, 27, 31 ; *Nar.* 1.35 ; Brhaspati) ; 'prāḍ' derived from the root 'prcch' and vivāka from 'vāk'. Asking questions of the plaintiffs and the defendents and trying to find out the truth.
230, *Jona.* 959 ; cf. *Adi* 63 ; *Manu* VII 22-23 ; *Śānti* 14-34 ; *Nār.* 28 : 15.
231. *Jona.* 11. Jonarāja wrote the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* at the bidding of Śri Śiriyabhaṭṭa.
232. *RT* I.119 ; cf. *Rājanītiratnākara*, p. 18.
233. *Ibid* VI 28-29.
234. *Ibid* 25 sqq.
235. cf. *Bṛhaspati* (*Smrticandrikā* 2. p. 15) which puts the number of *sabhyas* at 7, 5 or three. They were chiefly Brāhmaṇas, though they could also be Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas.
236. *RT* VI 67.
237. *Ibid* VII 364, 887 ; VIII 575 ; for various interpretations

of the term, see P.W., Troyer, Lassen, Dutt, in Stein, Vol. I, V 214 n.
238. *Ibid* VIII 573 ; 1178.
239. Stein, *RT* Vol. I, pp. 117-129.
240. *Jon.* 67-68 ; 77.
241. *Ibid* 74.
242. *Ibid* 76-78 ; *RT* VI 281.
243. *LP* IV p. 59.
244. *Ibid* VIII 2420-2421, 1624. Udaya was both *Kampanāpati* and *dvārapati*.
245. *RT* VII 1963 sqq.
246. *RT* VII 1171 sqq.
247. *Ibid* 576-578.
248. *Ibid* 584-586.
249. *Ibid* VII 587-592.
250. *Ibid* VIII, 1634 ; VII 584 sqq. At the time of warfare the army was arranged in a certain order. The commander of the front of the army (*mukha*) was called *Dvārapati*. He was deputed to quell disturbances and take part in all such operations. cf. *Mbh. Droṇaparva*.
251. *RT*, VI 179 ; VIII 1042.
252. *Ibid* VIII 1927 sqq.
253. *Ibid* VII 216.
254. *Ibid* VII 216-217. The Khaśas were spread over the valleys lying immediately to the south and west of the Pīr *Pantsāl* range. between the middle course of the Vitasta in the west and Kaṣṭavata (Kiṣṭvar) in the East. (Stein, Vol. I, note I 317) ; VI 281.
255. *Ibid* VII 912, 1301-2, 222, 223, 576, 581, 584, 596, 1172, etc. passim ; VIII 21, 178, 179 etc. passim. 1963, 2492, 2493, 2782 sqq. 2852.
256. *RT* VIII 422 ; VII 600.
257. *Ibid* VIII 592.
258. *Ibid* 2281 sqq.
259. *Ibid* VIII 2285-2295.
260. *Ibid* 2354-2355.
261. *Ibid* 2503.
262. VIII 1832-1833.
263. *Ibid* 2504.

264. *RT* VIII 2481.

265. *Ibid* V 214 ; VII 216 ; 598-599 ; VIII 573.

266. *Ibid* VII 583-599.

267. *Ibid* VII 598-600.

268. *RT* VII 583-586.

269. *Ibid* VII 971 sqq.

270. *Ibid* VIII 574.

271. *Ibid* 575. The cavalry of the *Kampaneśa* could strike terror in the heart of the enemies. It has therefore been compared to the violent wind that shakes the trees to their very roots.

272. *Ibid* VIII 1005 ; Stein, however, thinks that there was only one ; Vol. I, V. 214 n.

273. *RT* VII 1172-1173.

274. *Ibid* V 214. Gloss A_2 has *Dvāravidyāyam Vīrāṇakam* which clearly establishes the position of *Vīrānaka* almost opposite to Buliasa which for certain lay on the very border of Kashmir territory. See also V 225 for the location of Bolyasaka in Dvāravati near Varāhamūla.

275. *Ibid* VII 966 581, 912.

276. *Ibia* VII 584 sqq.

277. *RT* VIII *passim* (574, 592, 746, 1005, 1832, 1927 sqq ; 2281, 2503 sqq. etc.).

278. *Ibid* V 214, VI 259 ; VII 887 ; VIII 180, 1046, 1624, 1982.

279. *Ibid* VI 256-259. Sometimes the two offices of Dvāra**pa**ti and kampanesha were combined (VII 1319). In Book VIII the *Kampanadhīśa*, *Dvārādhīśvara*, *Sainyapati*, *Kampanādhikārasthah* also gives a clue to the respective importance of these officers (VIII 177-180).

280. *RT* VII 1362-1365.

281. *Ibid* VIII 1676.

282. *Ibid* VII 221, 267, 579 ; VIII 509, 599, 627, 652, 669, 698, 1039, 1510, 1580, 1674, 1840, 2029, 2190, 2205 etc.

283. *LP* IV.

284. *RT* VIII 509.

285. *Ibid* 1039, 1674, 2029-31, 2205.

286. *Ibid* 1046.

287. *Ibid* 3289, 3322, 2190 ; VII 1364.

288. *RT* VII 365.

289. *Ibid* VIII 1432.
290. *IEG* p. 142 ; *RT* VIII, 1430 ; HDS.
291. *RT* VIII 575.
292. *Ibid* VIII 1964 ; VII 993-995.
293. If *pāda* is taken in the sense of infantry (*padāti*), in *pādāgra* would mean 'the Chief of the Infantry'. The noun of *avayavi* is also used in *avayava*.
294. *LP* pp. 62-63.
295. *RT* VII, 210.
296. *Supra* ; *Ibid* VII 571 ; *pāda* was a measure equal to one-fourth of the standard land-measure. (*IE* 8-6, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*. p. 223) ; VIII 861, 2224, 2352 ; VII 211 sqq ; VIII 1482 ; VII 571.
297. Kṣema, the Pādāgra officer, abolished the practice of marking the gold according to colour which served to bring to light the savings of the people. This suggests that the people who had to pay a tax on their valuables too were given some remission on this head of revenue to the State. (*RT* VII 211).
298. *Ibid* VIII 1482 ; VII 571. His obstinate persistence in raising the imposts invited protests from the Brāhmaṇas who started a *prāya* against his cruel imposts (*RT* VIII 2224).
299. See *Infra*. There is, however, a referencc to *pāditarika* in the Skandagupta's inscription. He seems to correspond to the office of the *Pādāgra* of our texts.
300. *RT* VII 208 to 211.
301. *LP*.
302. *RT* VIII 1482.
303. *Ibid* 861 ; cf. Śrīv 4.448. The entry of the two wings of the army into the *rāṣtra* compared to the burning flames through the cauldron shows how the villagers must have been exploited by the practice of billetting the soldiers upon them.
304. pp. 61-62 ; *Śiracīrikā* was written on *paṭṭas*, classifying the main heads of taxation. 'padarthalekha' would contain an account of all those taxable items produced in a *rāṣtra*. (cf. *A. Br.*) ; *SB*.

305. *CII*, iii, No. 12 vi B ; '*pādin*'—(pāda+ini) one who claims the fourth part of a certain commodity.
306. *Kapp*. IV 1-42.
307. *Kapp*. V 1 sqq.
308. *Hara*. XVI 79.
309. *Kapp*. V, 39.
310. *Ibid* XVI 12.
311. *Ibid* II.2
312. *Ibid* XVI 25 sqq.
313. *Ibid* XVI ; XVI, 58.
314. *Kapp*. XVI 25.
315. We discuss the role of *dūtas* under the section *Ihter-State relations* ; *Infra*.
316. *LP* IV. p. 58.
317. *RT* VI 117, 261.
318. *Ibid* VI 115 sqq.
319. *Ibid* SA_2 gloss.
320. *RT Ibid* ; also see *Śrīv*. i. 88 ; iii.162, 388, 390 ; IV 225, 298, 355 ; *Fourth Chronicle* 33, 64 sqq. ; 138, 906, cf. *EI*, vol. XII, p. 9.
321. *IA* Vol. XV, *Ant*. Vogel, p. 121.
322. *RT* II 65-67.
323. *RT* VIII 3354.
324. *Śrīk*.
325. *RT* VI 260-261.
326. *Ibid* VIII 181 ; VII 601 n ; Vogel, p. 122.
327. *Ind. Ep. Glossary*, p. 273.
328. *EI*, vol. XI, p. 176 ; *CII*, vol. III, p. 157.
329. *IA*. Vol. XII, p. 122, note 76.
330. *LP* p. 58.
331. Gupta Inscr. pp. 157, n. I 170 and 218.
332. *HB* Vol. I, pp. 277, 287.
333. *LP*, p. 58.
334. *RT* VIII 2618, 2671, 2925.
335. *Ibid* 2671, 2925, 2557.
336. *LP* pp. 62-63; RT VIII 756; VII 1501: VIII 3132, 270, 546.
337. *RT* VII 601.
338. *Ibid* IV 140-143.

339. *Ibid* ; cf. *EI*. vol. II, p. 39 ; also see *Bhāṇḍāgārika* (IE 8-3) ; *CII* 4 ; *ADS*) 'the officer in charge of the treasury or the royal store-house.
340. *RT* I, 117-119.
341. *LP*, pp. 61-64.
342. *PV* II. 63.
343. *RT* IV 691 gloss A$_2$; VII 576.
344. *Ibid* VIII 270. Stein, vol. II 270 n here translates the word *rājasthāna* by the 'royal court'.
345. pp. 4, 63.
345(*a*). *Bhāṇḍāgārika* was responsible for the safe custody of jewels (*KSS* XII.8.24.32) and of stores of food (*gañjadhāma*) (*Vikram*) XVIII.26). It appears that the Bhāṇḍāgāra had two wings, one for collecting foodgrains etc. (*koṣṭhāgāra*) and the other *Koṣa* which recieved gold coins, jewels etc. Perhaps the Superintendent of the Seda office (*śedarājasthānādhikārin*) was expected to have the knowledge of the fineness and roughness of texture of the cotton, woollen and silken cloth as well as of their durability (*RT* IV 691; VIII 576).
346. *RT* IV 143 ; Lassen, *Ind. Att.* iii 998 ; Stein IV 140-143 n.
347. *IE* 8-2, 8-3 ; *CII* 4 ; *EI* vol. VII, p. 91.
348. Supra, Ch. III, p. 134. *RT* IV, 141.
349. *RT* VI 38 SA$_2$ gloss.
350. *Narm* II.144 Infra ch. V pp. 166-167.
351. Infra, ch. V., pp. for details.
352. *RT* VII 85-86, 1505 ; VIII 1620 ; VIII 1436, 1482, 188 ; *Samaya*. VI 26.
353. *Samaya* VIII 104.
355. *RT* III 206 ; IV 221 ; VIII 2625.
356. *Ibid* VI 319 ; *Kuṭṭ* 406-407.
357. For various classes of *diviras* see *Loka*. III, pp. 51 ff ; *Narm*. 20-28 ; I 129-141.
358. *Loka*. p. 51.
359. *RT* IV 142-143.
360. *RT* III 102 ; *KSS* XII.6.321-322.
361. *Ibid*. V 129.
362. *Ibid* V 130 ; 182 sqq.
363. *Kuṭṭ* 939-957 ; *NKT*. 9 ff.

364. *RT* VI 355 sqq.
365. *KSS* XVI 3.22-24 ; XII 6.320-323 *passim* ; XXIII 9-10.
366. *Ibid* XII.2.83 ; 6.320-323 ; XVI 3.27-29.
367. *RT* VI 355 sqq.
268. *Ibid* V 22.
369. *KSS* VI.8.107 sqq ; X.3 63-72.
370. II.1.44.
371. 802 (Sūryakānta ed.) ; MW, P. 920. *Vayasya*=associate, companion, friend (often used in familiar address).
372. p. 530, *SV* 'narma'.
373. *Ibid* p. 1087.
374. *KSS* VI.8.115.
375. *Kuṭṭ* 802 ; *KSS* 1.6.88.
376. *Ibid* III.3.63 and III.2.69.
377. *Ibid* Taraṅga 2.
378. *Kuṭṭ* 760.
379. *KSS* p. 125 (Kedārnath Sharma's ed.).
380. *RT* VI.73.
381. *Aṣṭā* 5.2.26.
382. *RT* V 226 ; VI 73, 106, 127.
383. *RT* I 120 ; *Mbh*. ii, 38.
384. *Ibid* VIII 2190 ; VII 583-584.
385. *Ibid* IV 81 ; VI 70 ; *Jona* 887.
386. *Ibid* VI 296-298 ; VII 108.
387. *KSS* III 3.80-81 ; XII.36.75-78.
388. *Loka* p. 59.
389. *RT* VIII 254-257, 814 ; VII 1540 sqq.
390. *Ibid* VII 580 ; *Samaya* I.16 ; *KSS* VIII 167-168 ; XII.5. 210-215.
391. *KSS* XII 5.205-217.
392. *BKM*. 500 sqq ; *KSS* XII 5.215.
393. *Kuṭṭ* 400.
394. *RT* VIII 3336-3338.
395. *KSS* XII IV 222, 224.
396. *Ibid*.
397. *RT* VI 70.
398. *Ibid* VI 296 ; VII 108, 580, 1542 ; VII 256, 632, 814, 838. 1459 etc.
399. *Samaya* VI.10.

400. Stein Vol. I VIII 951 n ; *EHCK* (first ed.), p. 134. Fleet says that he was the leader of the forces (*CII* III p. 16 n) ; Jayaswal takes the word in the sense of "lord of the administration, for the ministers who bear that title in the inscriptions were civilian officers as proved by their other titles."
401. *Sarvāmātyapradhāna*—*RT* VII 894.
402. *RT* VII 951.
403. *SIP*. loc. cit. p. ; A.R. No. 67 of 1907, A.S.I. South Ind. Ins. Vol. XXIII. 1979.
404. Cf. *HB* Vol. I, pp. 286, 288, 278.
405. *RT* VII 1305, 1308.
406. *HB* Vol. I, pp. 286, 288, 278 ; see also *Śrīkaṇṭha* III where the commander *Tantrapati* is rendered as *Dharmādhikāra* by its commentator Jonaraja.
407. *CII* III, p. 16 n.
408. *RT* IV 142-143 , Supra, ch. p. 195.
409. Vogel : No. 15—Suṅgal CPI of Vidagdha (Plate XVII) pp. 166-167, 11 7-8 ; Epi. Ind. Vol. I, p. 88, 1. 49 and p. 92 ; Vol. XVII, p. 321.
410. Epi. Ind. p. 115, 32, verse 37.
411. *Ibid* p. 118, 36 n ; p. 102.
412. Antiquities of Cambā, pp. 168, 123.
413. *HDS* III, p. 992.
414. Epi. Ind. Vol. I, p. 88, 1.49.
415. T. Burrow, 'Ma-to make, Produce, Create' in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies (vol. XLIII, part 2, 1980), pp. 311-328.
416. *RT* (Sriv.) I 70.
417. *HB* Vol. I, pp. 278, 286 ; Diskalkar : Selection from Sanskrit Inscriptions, p. 35.
418. The Baijnath *praśastis* were engraved in Śaka 726 (=A.D, 804).
419. *RT* I 71.
420. *Ibid* V 167, 176-177 ; 301 ; VIII 1428.
421. I, 32, 50.
422. *Loka* IV. It also mentions a *rājamahattama* who was associated with the royal court of justice. The *Gṛhakṛtya-mahattama* of the *Narmamālā* appears to be simply

Mahattama of the *Rājataraṅgiṇi*.

423. *Narm.* I 62-70 ; I 34-44.
424. p. 64.
425. Antiquities of Camba, p. 124.
426. *HB* Vol. I, p.
427. *Loka* p. 65.
428. *Loka*, p. 65.
429. *RT* VII 296.
430. *Ibid* VIII 1577 sqq, 2803 ; VII 1172.
431. *Jona* 639, 656 ; cf. *Śrīv.* 1.209 ; 2.6 ; 3 passim ; 9.75 etc. As the word *mārgeśa, adhvapa, adhveśa* (the variants of *mārgapati*) is used in plural, it shows that many *mārgesas* functioned on different routes.
432. *Samaya*, II 91 (Tripathi ed.) ; *Narm.* I 127-140, 116-117.
433. *EI*, vol. XX, pp. 37, 41, 45.
434. *EHCK*, pp. 131-132 (1957 edition).
435. *Kuṭṭ* 539.
436. *Loka*. pp. 61, 2.
437. *Ibid*, p. 4 ; Samaya VIII.51 for *haṭṭabhāṇḍhaśālā*, a place where vessels, measures and weights were brought in for inspection.
438. *RT* V 167. *Kuṭṭanimata* shows that the post of *Haṭṭapati* existed in the time of Jayāpiḍa.
439. *RT* VII 1091, 1541 ; VII 1103-4, 1106, 1101, 1103 ; 1107.
440. *HB* Vol. I, p. 278.
441. *Loka*. pp. 20-21.
442. *RT* V 301, 389 ; *Loka* p. 8 ; *AS* II.7 has *akṣapaṭalādhyakṣa* ; *Akṣapaṭalādhikṛta* in inscriptions.
443. Stein Vol. II V 301 n ; *CII* III No. 39, Plate XXV, 1 76 n. p. 190 ; *HK* p. 342.
444. *RT* V 397-398.
445. *Ibid* IV 691 ; cf. *AŚ* II.7 ; Supra, Ch. III p. 194.
446. *RT* VII 162, 1604, 1609 ; cf. *EI*, Vol. XX, p. 128.
447. *Ibid* VII 162.
448. See ante.
449. *RT* IV 142-143.
450. *Loka* pp. 4, 63 ; *KSS* XII.8.24-33 ; *RT* VI 37 ; *EI* XI, p. 107 uses *bhāṇḍāgārādhikṛta*.
451. Supra, Ch. III, pp. 193-195 for a detailed discussion of

Mahābhāṇḍāgāra.

452. Vol. I IV 142-143 ; *HK* p. 342.
453. *PV* II. 63 ; *KSS* XII.8.24-32 ; *Loka* ; *Vikram* XVIII.26.
454. *PV* II.63.
455. *Darpadalanam* 51 ; *RT*.
456. *Loka* p. 3.
457. *RT* V 26-27.
458. *Ibid* V 177.
459. *Loka* p. 52 ; *EI* 18 ; *CII* IV for *Gaṇapaka*.
460. *Jon*. 128.
461. *Loka* p. 2 ; *RT* VI 266-269 ; C VII 166 ; VIII 2476.
462. *RT* V 469-475 ; VIII 1249.
463. *RT* VIII 276-278 ; 2423.
464. *Ibid* VIII 278.
465. *Ibid* IV 559, 461, 589 ; VI 266.
466. *Ibid* VII 125.
467. *Ibid* VII 126 ; 570 ; VIII 729 for the village of Mayāgrama.
468. *Ibid* VII 203, 210.
469. Infra, Ch. VI pp. 273 ff.
470. *RT* IV 142-143.
471. *Ibid* III 489.
472. Alberūni I. p. 206. No. private person was allowed to keep either a horse or any other riding animal which suggests the monopoly of the state over these animals.
473. *NKT* 98. Kṣemendra devotes a long section to the qualities of good horses.
474. *RT* III 493 sqq.
475. *Samskāra Kāṇḍa*, p. 301, V. 305.
476. *RT* VIII 1430 ; *HD*.
477. *Ibid* VI 345 ; VIII 861.
478. *Ibid* VII 968, 965.
479. *Ibid* VII 365.
480. *Ibid* VII 659.
481. *IA* XXXIX.213.
482. *HB*, Vol. I, p. 268.
483. *HRS* op. cit., p. 205.
484. *RT* VII 438.
485. *Loka* I, p. 58.
486. *Narm*. 1.60.

487. *RT* VI 73 ; VII 996 ; VIII 1228, 1484, 2029.
488. *Ibid* VII 1304
489. *Ibid* VII 1320-1321, 1323, 1334.
490. *CII* IV Ins. No. 60, verse 21.
491. *Ibid* Ins. No. 42 ; The Bāngarh CP of Mahīpāla I (HB. Vol. I, p. 23) refers to the *Gokalikāmaṇḍala* as a part of Kotivarsha *viṣaya*. Āmgachhi CP of Vigrahapala III (HB. Vol. I, p. 305) *EI* XV.295.
492. *HK*, p. 344.
493. Cf. *Sahyādri Khaṇḍa*, *Uttarārdha*, *Adhyāya* IV

100 villages = *deśa*
4 *deśas* = *maṇḍala*

494. *RT* VII 996, 1178, 1227-1240, 1354, 1320-1334, 1340, 1377 ; IV 551 sqq. ; VIII 117.
495. *Ibid* VII 965-968 ; VIII 10, 1976.

4

Local Administration

In the literary sources the kingdom of Kashmir is often referred to as a *maṇḍala*[1] and many smaller administrative units, such as *pradeśa*, *rāṣṭra*, *viṣaya* and *deśa* are mentioned under a hierarchy of officers.[2] Besides, we have references to *pattana*, *nagara* (towns and cities) and the division of the whole kingdom into *grāmaghoṣa* (villages and cowherds' colonies) and the mountainous villages (*draṅgadeśa*).[3]

It seems that Kalhaṇa and Kṣemendra use the term *maṇḍala* not in the sense of an administrative unit of the kingdom but in the sense of the kingdom itself.[4] While referring to the Nāgas and sacred *tīrthas* and the chain of mountains, the *Nīlamata Purāṇa* refers to the pre-eminent position of Kashmir *maṇḍala*.[5] R.S. Tripathi takes *maṇḍala* to be equivalent to a province[6], but the suggestion is hardly justified by the use of the term in the context of Kashmir. From the last *taraṅga* of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* we learn how Jayasiṁha had to face enormous hardships when his kingdom (*maṇḍala*) was surrounded by enemies and he was confronted by an empty treasury.[7] It appears that the term *maṇḍala* was applied to the whole territory that was reclaimed from the Satīsara at some remote period and thus *maṇḍala* in the case of Kashmir came to mean the whole valley.[8] The term *maṇḍala* is used by later chroniclers[9] also, as standing for the territory of the whole kingdom. It is, therefore, not difficult to determine precisely the extent of the kingdom (*maṇḍala*) of Kashmir and locate the specific *Viṣayas* mentioned in the *Lokaprakāśa*. Altekar's suggestion that a *maṇḍala*[10] was about the size of a modern division under the charge of a Commissioner is not supported by the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* or any other literary source of Kashmir. Thus *maṇḍala* as a territorial unit corresponding to a Chief Commissioner's division is not applicable here.

The term *pradeśa* stands for a territory bigger than a *viṣaya* under a *Rājasthānīya*[11] who, it seems, was assisted in his administration by a *Kampanādhipati* along with his contingent of soldiers.[12] The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and the *Lokaprakāśa* show that the *Rājasthānīya* was the head of a *pradeśa*, helped, besides the *Kampanādhipati*, by other officers connected with the administration of *viṣayas* and villages.[13] These and other officers like the Chief Superintendent of Agriculture (*Bṛihatakārṣanādhipati*)[14] were enjoined by the king to actively participate and assist the *Rājasthānīya* in the collection of revenue from that *pradeśa*. From the *Lokaprakāśa* we learn that a *pradeśa* was a very busy centre of tradesmen, agriculturists and religious institutions.[15] In the same text *pradeśa* is shown to stand for a *rāṣtra*.[16] In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* at some places a *rāṣtra* is, however, shown to stand for both Kashmir and Lohara.[17]

The other administrative division was *viṣaya* under the *viṣayādhipati* or *viṣayādhikṛta*.[18] The *Lokaprakāśa* draws a fine analogy between the working of the sense-objects (*viṣayas*) and that of the *viṣayas* (districts). A person attracted by sense-objects, other than a woman, may survive but, if attracted by her, will surely die.[19] Kṣemendra elaborates the various types of *viṣayas* and then enumerates two types of *viṣayas* difficult to be governed, viz. *Bṛhan viṣaya* (big districts) and *Dāmara viṣaya*. Perhaps what Kṣemendra means to say is that districts like women are difficult to control. In all *viṣayas* there was an officer who had elephants, horses, chariots and footmen under him.[20] The *Viṣayādhipati* was required to be a very strict and steel-hearted man not to be moved even when he saw the burning pyre of his son and cherished idol broken to pieces.[21]

Each *Viṣaya* comprised one thousand temples and seventy-five villages.[22] It appears that the head of a Ḍāmara *viṣaya* had a retinue of military and civil officers under the control of a Ḍāmarādhipati (the head of a (*Dāmaraviṣaya*).[23] Most of the *viṣayas* were inhabited by para military tribes and so a king was advised to identify himself with these territories and to subordinate his interests to those of his subjects resident therein.[24]

Sometimes the term *viṣaya* was used in the sense of a *deśa.* Sircar is of the opinion that *deśa* signifies a territorial division [25]. We feel that it was another name of a *viṣaya*. In the stone slab inscription at the foot of a small spring at *Khonamūṣa* (modern Khonamuh), the officer of a deśa is mentioned as *deśādhipati.*[26] According to Kṣemendra the transfer and surrender of a piece of *Brahmadeya* land was executed in his presence.[27] The term *deśeśvara* or *deśapāla* occurs in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* in the same sense.[28] A comparison of the functions of a *deśādhipati* with those of a *Viṣayādhipati* leads us to think that *deśa* and *viṣaya* were the same territorial division.[29] From the *Lokaprakāśa* it is clear that the control of the district contributes to the financial prosperity of the kingdom. The officer of the district addressed and collected taxes for the king as only a very stern officer could function well as many districts were chiefly inhabited by either the para-military tribes of the Ḍāmaras[30] or other tribes difficult to control. This accounts for the maintenance of a regular army unit under the command of an officer in the district.[31] Ray takes *Mārgapati* as the chief administrative officer of a *viṣaya.*[32] But as discussed elsewhere the *Mārgapati* was an officer posted on mountainous routes to check ingress and egress of persons, supervise the border districts and control the activities of the merchants.[33] From the *Lokaprakāśa* we learn that *Viṣayādhipati* was associated with a *Senādhipati,* a *Draṅgādhipati*, a *saciva*, and a *sacivādhipati*[34] in the administration of the district. As a road-inspector the Mārgapati frequently paid visits to villages. This has led Ray to suppose that *Mārgapati* was at the head of the district administration. The number names and limits of the districts have not been subject to much variation during our period.

The *Lokaprakāśa* tells us of the division of Kashmir into twenty-seven *viṣayas* and enumerates some nineteen of them.[35] From the list of Abu-l-Fazl it appears that the list of *parganas* (the name adopted for the *viṣayas* in the Mughal period) could be increased or adjusted within certain limits according to fiscal requirements.[36]

After enumerating some nineteen districts (*viṣayas*), Kṣemendra refers to the two parts into which the valley of Kashmir has been divided from very early times. They are known by their modern names of Kamrāz and Marāz. The latter comprises the districts on both sides of the *Vitastā* above Srinagar whereas Kamraz comprises those below. According to Kṣemendra, commencing from Khoyāśrama (modern Khuyahoma *viṣaya*) upto the end of Vātulalahara (dist. Lār),[37] the division surrounded by cities and towns is called Kramarājya by the wise. The middle division with 5000 villages starting from Śrīvantaka is called Manuvānta by the wise or Marāz or Madhyarājya. The number of villages included in the valley of Kashmir (*satīsara*) is put at 66083 which, included in the two parts already mentioned, constitute the *maṇḍala* (kingdom) of Kashmir.[38] It seems that owing to variations in climate, topography and production of cereals, etc., the kingdom of Kashmir was divided into two parts with the line of demarcation somewhere near the present Shergaṛhi in Srinagar, once the site of the Afghan rulers' and then that of the Dogra rulers' palaces. These two divisions were treated as two distinct and separate fiscal units for purposes of assessment and collection of income from land. Maḍavarājya[39] was divided by the Vitastā into two portions, one to the north-east and the other to the south-west of the river. The first begins with the district of Khaḍūvī and the second with Bring and Ver etc. Likewise Kramarājya stood divided into the southern and northern districts, the former beginning with *Dūnts*, Bahurūpa etc. and the latter with Śāmāla. Under the Loharas the *rāṣṭra* of Lohara was added to these two divisions.

Between the *viṣaya* and the village lay *paṭṭana* and *nagara* (town and cities), the administration of which was assigned to the *Nagarādhipa* or *Nagarādhikṛta*.[40] The *Lokaprakāśa* says that thousand *ayutas* (ten thousand) of villages are known as *pattana*.[41] The essence of a *pattana* is a city and the essence of a city is the citizens dwelling therein. Perhaps the village was a unit which had to supply a thousand or ten thousand troops, organised as they seem to have been on a decimal system. The necessity of self-defence against the Ḍāmaras and the fighting atmosphere created by the Ekāṅgas, Tāntrins and other para-millitary tribes possibly made the villager a doughty soldier. Each villager must have therefore been enlisted in the army for his martial qualities. Every village therefore appears to have had its own militia[42] and the imperial army must have been largely recruited from that force. The affluent citizens seems to have formed the cream of a city which suggests that cities were important centres of trade during this period.[43] From the *Rājataraṅgiṇi* we learn that on the north-east of Maḍavarājya the important towns were Padmapura, Avantipura, Vijayeśwara, Mārtaṇḍa, Anantnāg and on its southern side were Kheri[44] and Dāmodarsuda, on the southern side of Kramarājya were Śaṅkarapura and Huṣkapura. Parihāsapura in the same area, *viz.*, Kramarājya rose to the position of a flourishing city under Lalitāditya and emerged as an important centre of trade.[45] On the northern side of Kramarājya stood Śāradā which, since very early times, seems to have been a flourishing *entrepot* and the most prominent pilgrimage.[46] In the same direction is Syāmala which was the chief centre of Ḍāmara revolts.[47]

It seems that between the arable lands (*vāstavyadeśa*) and townships (*pattalā*) there was another territorial division called *bhukti* under the charge of *bhogapatī*.[48] The *Lokaprakāśa* refers to him along with *Nirguṭa* (*niyukta*), *Divira Ḍāmara* and husbandmen. From the *Narmamālā* it appears that a *bhukti* contained many groups of villages donated to temples. Its administration was run by a *pariṣad* of five members (*pārṣadī*) with *bhogapati* as its head.[49] The term *bhukti* denotes a territorial division comprising several villages the income of which was enjoyed by a temple corporation. It was subject to the supervision of a *Gañja-divira* (the Superintendent of Finances) who, on behalf of the king, could axe the land-grants of the *brāhmaṇas* and curtail the funds provided for the maintenance of temples.[50] He came into direct contact with the grantees of the land grants and their corporation (*pārṣadī*) and possessed considerable revenue powers. Thus the *bhukti* was territorial unit midway between a town and arable land managed by its own corporation along with the over all control of a *Paripālaka* (the Revenue Commissioner of a province) through a *Gañjadivira* and his informers of spies (*cākrikas*).[51] The lands granted to temples were not free from the exactions of *cākrikas* whereas generally the village grants in other parts of India are stated to be free from this exaction of Chāṭas and Bhaṭās. It would thus appear that governments during our period to meet the burden of maintaining the soldiers allowed them to enter the *agrahāra* villages and other villages not donated to temples.

The term *bhukti* means enjoyment. *Bhukti* and *bhoga* often denoted feudal assignments. They were made to officers, members of royal family and also to temples, brāhmaṇas. In some parts of India *bhukti* has been used to refer to an administrative division. This is clear from the use of the term in the *Lokaprakāśa* and *Narmamālā*. The inscriptional evidencc tends to favour the suggestion that a *bhukti* included *grāmas* in it.[52] From the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* we learn that a Khaśa chief got thirty-six villages in a *bhukti*.[53] This shows that the number of villages in each *bhukti* differed from one another.

DRANGA

The *Lokaprakāśa* refers to an officer called *draṅgapati* possibly the same as the *drāṅgika* referred to in many inscriptions.[54] Bühler translates the term as 'head of the town'.[55] During our period *drāṅgadeśa* was an important fiscal unit[56] and all the Revenue-Rolls (*Śiracīrikā*) refer to them. The officer in charge of this territorial division may have been a *draṅgapati* or *draṅgadhipa*.[57] The *Narmamālā* and the *Lokaprakāśa* refer to border posts which served as customs-houses and watch stations connected with a number of routes which converged at it. That they were basically fiscal units is clearly indicated in the *Kuṭṭanīmata*.[58] It seems that these *draṅgas* were the nerve centres of the defence mechanism of the kingdom and on their collection of revenue depended the financial stability of the State.[59] The location of the Śūrapura *draṅga* (modern Hura pōra) shows that these were the mountainous villages near the passes organised for purposes of defence and collection of customs etc.[60] Sussala's use of the revenues of the customs-station at Śūrapura and a number of battles fought there indicate their importance for the rulers of Kashmir.[61] This must have necessitated the stationing of a host of civil and military officers at a *draṅga*. It is also likely that sometimes the mountanious villages were granted to the officers without the right of sale or mortgage.[62] Thus for certain military and fiscal considerations, a *draṅga* (rendered as defence-post by Maṅkha)[63] was made the nucleus of the division which comprised the region surrounding it. The Śūrapura draṅga, the Kārkoṭa *draṅga*[64] were two administrative divisions named after the *draṅgas* which were their headquarters. Each *draṅga* was under the charge of a *draṅgādhipa* or *draṅgapatī*. During our period these areas were placed under semi-military rule on account of their strategic importance and being the source-heads of all income from customs duties (*śulka*). The fact that *draṅgas* were provided with a picket of guards (*gulma*) may suggest that maintenance of local peace was the responsibility of these outposts and not of the village headman.

AGRAHARA

From the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* it would appear that numerous land-grants were made to brāhmaṇas. It mentions the villages donated to them from time to time. These villages or land-grants to Brāhmaṇas were known as *agrahāra* in the *Artha-śāstra*. *Agrahāras* (rent-free lands) were donated to Brāhmaṇas even in the environs of the *Vitastā* and provided with *maṭhas* and granaries.[65] The *agrahāras* carried assignment of the usual taxes not specified in our texts.[66] According to Altekar arrangement for higher education was made also in Maṭhas associated with temples endowed by the state or private charity, and *agrahāra* villages granted to Brāhmaṇa settlements.[67] In Kashmir *maṭhāgrahāras* existed as one institution. They were richly provided by kings, queens, ministers and other royal functionaries,[68] both civil and military. Maṭhas and shrines together were maintained on *agrahāra* lands[69] with permanent sources of revenue. In Kalhaṇa's time *agrahāra-villages* were enjoyed by the *pārṣadas*,[70] which suggests that the grant of the *agrahāras* was not being utilized for the maintenance of sacred shrines.

We learn from the *Rājataraṅginī* that sometimes the *agrahāras* were granted to Ḍombas.[71] Apart from this exception the *agrahāras* were donated for religious and educational activities or for earning religious merit for one's parents or for oneself. The close association of *Akṣapaṭala* office with the *agrahāras* suggests that a hierarchy of officers was associated with the administration of these villages.[72]

Thus we see that the *Lokaprakāśa* gives a faithful account of the various territorial units in the administrative hierarchy. The kingdom of Kashmir (*Kaśmīramaṇḍala*) comprised 66063 villages which were the constituent units of the districts (*viṣaya*).[73] These in turn formed the two divisions of Kashmir, *viz.* Kāmaraj and Marāj.[74] Though it does not specify the area occupied by each administrative unit, it helps us understand their position in a descending order as being *viṣaya*, *deśa*, *pattana*, *nagara* and *grāma-ghoṣa*.

The smallest administrative unit was the village. The traditional number of 66063 villages seems to have survived upto the time of Jonarāja who associates one cavalryman each after every village with the 60,000 forces of Dulcha.[75] Probably the villages were organised on the decimal system and it appears that the forces too were grouped on the same pattern. In other parts of India the village administration was under the headman called *grāmika* or *grāmaṇī*.[76] Except a solitary reference to *grāmādhipa* in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*[77] and *grāmagaṇeśa* (chief of the village)[78] in the *Narmamālā*, we have no other evidence for the existence of such a post. *Skandaka*[79] mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and the *Narmamālā* was possibly a proto-type of the *grāmaṇī* and responsible for the administration of the village and the collection of revenue. As the was paid by the centre, it seems he was appointed by the king. This explains why a rapacious king like Śaṁkaravarmana charged a certain tax (*Skandaka*) to meet the emoluments of this office and those of the village accountants on the villages (*grāmakāyasthas*) and to ensure speedy and prompt collection of revenue from the village.[80] It appears that to a maintain local peace, he commanded an army contingent under him.[81] There is no indication that the office of the *Grāmakāyastha* or that of the *Skandaka* was hereditary. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* informs us that the office was framed out which indicates that the person capable of extracting the maximum from the people could retain the office.[82]

The village administration was run by a *pariṣad* of five members.[83] Somadeva also refers to the five members who were consulted and whose approval was sought in matters of local marriages.[84] *Pañcakula* is also referred to by Kṣemendra.[85] It is to be equated with the *pañcāyat* or village jury of five persons convened to settle disputes by arbitration. Or alternatively, it might mean the supervisor of five guilds. The practice of delegating administrative functions to a board of five members is very old and survived till recent times. The autonomous bodies are referred to by Kṣemendra as *kula* (a group) or *kulaka* (chief of a guild), *pañcakula* and *sūtrapañcakula*.[86] According to Sircar *pañcakula* is a *pañcayat* board of five members charged with the control of the customs houses and with the deposit of the persons dying without heirs into the royal treasury.[87] The appointment of five clerks (*diviras*) to the Home-Department (*gṛhakṛtya*) offices with a treasurer (*gañjavara*) to maintain accounts[88] suggests that the *pañcakula* too was organised on a similar basis, with a *mahāpañcakulika* or *kulaka* as its chief. Munshi thinks that the '*pañcakulas*' were organs of government at different levels of administration under the Chālukyas and this committee consisted of learned brāhmaṇas, merchants, and industrialists, officials and non-officials, all nominated.[89] According to Mirashi the *pañcakulas* were committees of persons elected by the residents of a town or a village for the management of the several departments (*karaṇa*).[90] The list of *Kula*, *pañcakula*, *sūtrapañcakula*, *karmasthānīya* in the *Lokaprakāśa* supports this interpretation.[91] They decided civil and criminal cases and imposed fines. *Sūtrapañcakula* shows that some rules for their guidance were laid down by the Central government. The members of the *pañcakulas* called *Mahattaras* seem to have been elected. Their head or president was probably called *Rājamahattama*, possibly nominated by the king [92]

The village had its own court of justice which bore the name of *pratiṣṭhitā*.[93] The king seems to have approved the decrees of the village elders.[94] The *Lokaprakāśa* mentions *Rājamahattama*[95] who helped the court in clarifying and elucidating doubts and difficulties in plaints and petitions and expounded the intricacies. This suits the Smṛti rules that a Mahattama should be honest, conversant with religion, vigilant, self-controlled and high-born.

The *Narmamālā* mentions *Āsthāna Diviras* or *Adhikaraṇa-divira* (the court-clerks).[96] They maintained the record of lands in villages and towns, forests and mountains. They executed the sale-deeds of land after measurement and dealt with criminal cases. They are referred to as *adhikaraṇalekhaka* in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*,[97] which supports the remarks of Kṣemendra about their notoriety for corruption. He may be compared to the sub-Registrar of courts in the modern times.

The common land of the village, pastures and crown lands were protected by the *grāma-kṣetrapāla* along with his assistants.[98] This practice survived in Kashmir villages possibly until a few years before the Afghan rule.[99] He has been taken as the Superintendent of the king's Khās Mahāl.[100] He was connected with the village police and occasionally patrolled the village roads at night.[101]

The local administration as outlined in the *Narmamālā*, the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and the *Lokaprakāśa* shows that a few officers were common to the town and the village. According to the *Lokaprakāśa*, one such officer was *Gamāgamika* mentioned also in the inscriptions.[102] His function evidently was, as the name suggests, to keep a watch on persons going out of the towns or the village.[103] He was probably in charge of the *pānthaśālā* or sarais. Armed *Grāmacaṇḍālas* undertook the watch and ward of cities and villages.[104] Though *Khalapālas* looked after the threshing floor of the villages, from time to time they were also in attendence upon the king.[105]

The *Narmamāla*[106] throws some light on the administrative arrangement in the villages granted to the brāhmaṇas; officers etc. This possibly was the case also with regard to other villages, a large number of which were donated by way of *maṭhāgrahāṛas.*

The overall control over the villages was exercised by the Home Department under the charge of *Gṛihakṛityādhipati* or *Gṛihakṛityamahattama*[107] which possibly was first organised by Śamkaravarman.[108] He took from the temples the profits arising from the sale or incense, sandal-wood, and other articles of worship as the king's share of their selling price.[109] On account of the manipulation of weights, fines and similar imposts the villagers were driven to poverty.[110] The reference suggests that the revenue-administration of the villages was controlled by this officer who had seven executive officers and eight soldier-orderlies under him.[111] He was allowed the prerogative of having officers of his own choice under him.

The next officer after him was the *Paripālaka*[112] (Caretaker officer). He was appointed by the *Gṛihakṛityādhipati* and served during his pleasure. Kṣemendra depicts him as a tall, fat person standing motionless with his eyes raised up. He wears a yellow turban. He is pround, false, merciless and voracious. He chasses the rich merchants sheltering in temples probably to avoid taxes on their merchandise.[113] He frightens the villagers and their urchins and leaves the rural maidens in Eve's dress.[114] He is the cause of Brahmanicide, cow-slaughter and other heinous crimes as patricide. Thus he was like the Revenue Commissioner of a modern province assisted in his work by a band of soldiers.[115] He seems to have regulated the behaviour of *viṭas* (keepers of brothels) and punished those who ill-treated the courtesans.[116] Thus it is clear that the revenue-administration of *maṭhāgrahāras* and other villages was normally under his control. We often find him being escorted by revenue accountants or superintendents (*lekhakopādhyāya*) and soldiers when moving to the *ograhāra* lands or collecting the state dues from the rich-merchants visíting the temples and avoiding payment to the state. It seems that he was a counter-part of *agrahārika* mentioned in inscriptions.[117] As he is mentioned along with such officers as the *śaulkika* and the *gaulmika*, it seems that an officer of the same type in special charge of *agrahāras* functioned under the name of *Paripālaka* along with his *lekhakopādkyāya*[118] (the Revenue-Superintendents) and *bhaṭas* (soldiers). He possibly was entrusted with the recovery of certain dues, powers of general supervision and upkeep of the privileges of an *agrahāra*. We agree with Fleet that *agrahārika* is a technical official term denoting probably an officer in special charge of *agrahāra* and the same holds good for the *Paripālaka*, in our case.

Paripālaka's revenue-superintendent is called *Lekhakopādhyāya*.[119] He was in charge of the confidential office record. This shows that probably during the Utpala and Lohara dynasties copies of the records of the government relating to the title deeds and royal grants were kept in the village record office. Thus the *Lekhakopādhyāya* seems to have functioned as a keeper of the records (*akṣapaṭalika*) for the village. He could draft two hundred dockets at a stretch. He was also a thorough accountant who could balance accounts in a trice. He was a petty officer who collected wooden ladles, grass-mats, wicker-work baskets and other articles for his master from the villagers.

The superintendent of finances (*Gañja-divira*,[120] controlled the treasury of the temples and produced a sheet of expenditure and receipts before his master, *Paripālaka*. He regulated the land-grants and the funds provided for the maintenance of temples. He possibiy fixed the shares of *agrahāra* land for the various deities.[121] The *gañjadivira*, as a caretaker of these shrines, was probably connected with the survey and measurement of the land attached to them. A corrupt *gañjadivira* could have appropriated all the proceeds of this agricultural land.

The *Mārgapati* or *vyāpārika* was a *Niyogī*.[122] He supervised the villages and the *parganas*, checked their accounts and inspected roads etc. He was an Excise Officer with magisterial powers. He kept a watch on the activities of the merchants. The *Mārgapati* struck awe in the hearts of the simple villagers. He was very severe in punishing cows, brāhmaṇas, confiscating property, damaging houses, imprisoning offenders, ordering severe caning etc. Possibly he owed his appointment direct to the king on the recommendation of the *Paripālaka* who ratified the punishments awarded by him. A corrupt Niyogī could be removed by the king alone.[123]

VILLAGE ACCOUNTANTS (*Grāmadiviras*)

Grāmadiviras[124] were not hereditary officers like their counterparts in the Deccan.[125] They were appointed and dismissed by the *Niyogi*. These *diviras* were attached to *maṭhāgrahāras*[126] whose number gradually increased upto the time of king Anantadeva. They figure in the *Lokaprakāśa*.[127] The village accountants are referred to as *lekhakas* whose proficiency in writing as also the instructions to them are again described in the *Lokaprakāśa*.[128] A *grāmadivira* or *Grāmakāyastha*[129] kept accounts of income and expenditure, made entries in the revenue registers, maintained village land records and carried on correspondence. He was assisted in his work by a Khwāśapati[130] (the surveyor of fields) who measured the different strips of land and communicated the orders of the *Niyogī* to him. Probably he is the *Khwāśadivira* mentioned after the *grāmadivira* in the *Lokaprakāśa*.[131] The other assistants mentioned in the *Lokaprakāśa* are *Kāyastha-lipijña* (the scribe), *gaṇaka*, *gaṇaśūla*, *saṁkhyāpati* (sub-accountants), *nirguṭa*[132] (a minor officer), *āyuka*. Like the *yuktas*, *āyuktas* and *niyuktas* mentioned after the *grāmakūṭas*[133] in many land-grants, they possibly belonged to the village administration and looked to clerical work as sub-accountants. *Nirguṭa* (perhaps *niyukta*) and *divira* figure together in the *Lokaprakāśa*[134] which can be explained only on this hypothesis. The description of *divira* and *nirguṭa* (*niyuktas*) in the *Deśopadeśa*[135] suggests that these minor officers did not possess much authority and were more or less clerical, being in charge of the village records of rights and other files.

RECORDER OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS (*Jīvanadivira*)

The *Narmamālā* mentions the post of the Recorder of Births and Deaths[136] (*jīvanadivira*). He is said to have acted and behaved like Citragupta. He maintained a record of deaths. He is compared to a dog in tracking the dead. He brought news from all quarters of people guilty of setting the houses on fire and killing of cow, women, children and brāhmaṇas.

REFERENCES

1. *Narm.* 1.2 ; *AKL* 70.2.
2. *LP.* pp. 61-64.
3. *Drangas* as explained elsewhere (Supra, Ch. III, pp. 185-186) no doubt functioned as watch stations-cum-customs houses but for all practical purposes they were mountainous villages under the command of a Dvārapati and other officers subordinate to him *Kuṭṭ* 935.
4. *RT* VIII 629, 635, 1640, 1805; *LP* p. 60.
5. cf. *RV* 4.42.1; 7.34.11. Here *maṇḍalas* are called *raṣṭras*; *NP* 5 (Vreese).
6. *History of Kanauj*, pp. 344-345.
7. *RT* VIII 1805.
8. *Ibid.*, I 26-27, 43; for the different meanings of *maṇḍala* in a restricted sense see V. Upadhyaya, *Gupta Sāmrājya kā Itihāsa*, vol. II, p. 31; Altekar, *SGAI*, p. 183.
9. See Jonarāja, Śriva, Śuka's *Rājataranginis* (vv 310, 338, 591 etc.).
10. *Tha Rāshtrakuṭas and their Times*, p. 136.
11. *LP.* p. 62.
12. Supra. Ch. III pp. 191-193.
13. *LP.* p. 63.
14. *Ibid.* p. 64.
15. 4, p. 64.
16. *Ibid* pp. 61-62.
17. *RT* VIII 766, 739.
18. *LP.* pp. 2, 60; *RT* VIII 2702.
19. *LP*, pp. 59-60.
20. *Ibid* p. 61.
21. *Ibid* p. 59.
22. *Ibid* p. 59.
23. *Ibid*, p. 2.
24. *Ibid*, p. 76.
25. *SI*, p. 273; cf, *CII*, IV pp. CXXXIII, CXXXV.
26. Marshall, *Note*, pp. 18 ff.
27. *LP*, p. 50.
28. II.61.2-5.
29. *LP.* p. 67.

30. *RT* V 51; VIII 1413-1416; VII 159. Most of the Ḍāmaras mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* are from one or the *viṣayas* mentioned in the *Lokaprakāśa*.
31. *Ibid* VIII 1414-1423; 2695-2698.
32. *EHCK*, p. 147 (Seconded); *Narm.* I 97 sqq.
33. Supra, Ch. III, p. 208.
34. *LP*, p. 2.
35. *Ibid*, p. 60; for the names of these districts see Appendix. (Stim, Vol. II).
36. Abū-l-Fazal: *Ain-i-Akbari* II p. 368; 437; he says that Kashmir was divided into thirty-eight *parganās*.
37. cf. *laharakoṭṭāntah* in *Jon.* 167; *RT* VII.9, 911, 1380; VIII 437, 729, 793, 1122; *Śrīv.* 1: 5: 12 ; Śuka 226.
38. *LP*, pp. 77-78.
39. *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, p. 371.
40. Supra, Ch. III, pp, 201-203.
41. *LP*, p. 59.
42. *RT* IV 474-475, VIII 576, 727-28, 932, 939.
43. *LP*, p. 59.
44. *Kherī* seems to have been an important district which was placed under a special officer. It appears that this district was an important fiscal unit and strategic defence-post. (*RT* VIII 1009, 1260).
45. *RT* IV 194.
46. *Ibid* I 37.
47. *Ibid* VII 159; VIII 1438.
48. *LP*, p. 64.
49. *Narm.* 1.90.
50. *Ibid* I 83-96.
51. *Narm.* I 89-96.
52. *CII*, III No. 46, p. 218; III No. 81, p. 298.
53. *RT.* VI 175.
54. Ind. Ant. IV, pp. 105, 175; *CII* III, p. 169.
55. *Ibid*, Vol. N, p. 205.
56. Infra Ch. IX, p. 407 ff.
57. *RT* VIII 1578-81.
58. 935.

59. Infra, Ch. IX, pp. 408-409; Stein, Vol. II, p. 291.
60. *RT* VIII 1577-1581; 1997-1998.
61. *Ibid* VIII 2010 sqq; 2802-2806.
62. *Kuṭṭ* 930-936.
63. *Maṅkha* p. 42, V. 574 *draṅga* as the equivalent of *rakṣās-thana*, 'watch-station', S.V. *gulma*.
64. *RT* VIII 1577; 1596, 1997, 2010.
65. *Vikram*. XVIII 24, 45.
66. *RT* II.132; *KSS* XII.15.3. These taxes appear to be the same as *udranga* and *uparikara* to which an implied reference is made in the time of Śaṁkaravarman (see *RT* V 168).
67. Altekar: *Rashṭrakutas, op. cit.* p. 401.
68. *RT* I passim; II 55; III 376, 481; IV 9, 639; V 23, 24, 170, 397, 403; VI 89, 336; VII 182, 184, 185, 608, 898, 899, 908; VIII 2408, 2419, 2420, 3355.
69. *Ibid* VIII 2401; VII 182-185.
70. *Ibid* II 132.
71. *Ibid* V 397-98.
72. *Ibid*.
73. *LP*. p. 60.
74. *Ibid* p. 77.
75. *Ibid* p. 78; *Jon*. 143. Kṣemendra talks of villages and cowherds' colonies together. May be because of this the number of villages has been inflated by him. Since the cowherds' colonies had no social status of their own, these are to be grouped together with the villages which were the lowest units of administration (See *LP* pp. 61-63); Dulcha is said to be a Mongol invader who invaded Kashmir in A.D. 1313 (Saka 1235); Śarifuddin gives the number of villages as 1,00,000 in *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdi* p. 430.
76. Luder's list No. 1333; *EI*. XV, No. 3, p. 114; *Agni*. 351.46, 353.2, 362.10.
77. lxiv, 115 (Tawney's ed.).
78. *Narm*. 2.143.
79. *RT* V 175; *Narm*. 2.98; *Ind. Ant*. Vol. XIII, p. 69.

80. cf. Manu. VIII 118. The village headman is charged with the task of collecting royal dues in the form of grain, drink and fuel. By charging the monthly emoluments of both *Skandaka* and *Grāmakāyastha* and other taxes Śaṁkaravarman made the villagers miserable.
81. cf. *Arth.* 7.12.11; 12.3.16; 12.4.20.
82. *RT* V 265.
83. *Ibid* VIII 3319.
84. *KSS* X.10.95.
85. *LP*. p. 4; cf. Bāna's *Harṣacarita* which alludes to the *pañcakula* either in the sense of the representatives of the five particular families of the locality or as a variation of the *pañcamandali* (VIII, para 24, p. 254).
86. *LP*. We have references to the *pañcakulikas* or the *mahā-pañcakulikas* in the epigraphic records of this period (*CII*, Introduction, p. cxlv, No. 74; Kahla Plates of Sodhadeva, 1.34).
87. *IEG*, p. 330; *Ind. Ant.* XI, p. 242.
88. *RT* V. 177.
89. *Gūrjara Desa*, Vol. II, p. 412.
90. *CII*, Vol. IV, part I, p. cxliv.
91. *LP*, p. 4.
92. *RT* VII 438, 1106, 1170, 1176; VIII 440, 560; regarding *mahattara* see VII 659.
93. *LP*, p. 58; cf. *Br.* I 2.3.
94. cf. *Br.*, 18.18.
95. *LP*, p. 59; for *mahattamas* see *CII*, IV No. 74. Kaḥla Plates of Sodhadeva, 1.35.
96. *Narm* II.117-132. They are the *Ahalamadas* or *Peshakāras* of today charged with the duties of writing and reading out the court documents.
97. *RT* VI 38 and SA_2 gloss.
98. *Ibid* VII 296 ; Stein takes him as 'genius loci', 296n.
99. Even now the Kashmiri Paṇḍits in all their rituals and ceremonies offer a share in kind and a few coins to *Kṣetrapāla* and his *kiṁkaras*. This indicates that the state collected a kind of grazing tax from the people for the use of common land and pastures.

100. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XV, p. 306; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XVII, p. 321.
101. *RT* VII 296. According to Hassan he was called the *Sarahangazāda* during the Sultanate period and had to maintain peace and order in his jurisdiction (See *Kashmir Under the Sultāns*, p. 208).
102. *CII*, vol. IV, Part I, p. cxlv; Vogel, *CPI* of Āsaṭa, Plate XXVI.
103. *LP* p. 63.
104. *RT* IV 475; VI 77-79, 309; VIII 251.
105. *Ibid* VIII 1245-1247.
106. I-II (KSTS No. 40).
107. Supra, Ch. III pp. 206-207.
108. *RT* V 167 ; *Narm.* III 46-53.
109. *Ibid.* V 168. This would mean that Śaṁkaravarman deprived the donees of the right to collect *udraṅga* and *uparikara* for defraying the expenses of perfumes, frankincense, flowers, offering etc. (Cf. *CII* IV part I, p. 19, *Bagh Cave Plate of Subandhu No.7*, Plate III C).
110. *RT* V 178 ; VII 42.
111. *Narm.* I 35, 37.
112. *Ibid I* 62-70 ; He seems to have been known as *Bhagavadācārya* and *Bhagavatparipālaka* also (*LP*, p. 4).
113. *Narm.* I.70.
114. *Ibid* I.69.
115. *Ibid.*
116. *Narm.* I.68.
117. *CII*, III, No. 12, p. 52.
118. *Narm* I.71-82.
119. *Ibid* I 71-82.
120. *Narm.* I 83-96.
121. *Ibid.* I 85.
122. *Ibid* I 97-127, Supra, Ch. III, Central Secratariate, pp. 208-209.
123. *Narm* III 95.
124. *Ibid* I 128-140.
125. *Rashṭrakuṭas* p. 195.
126. *Narm.* I.11.14.
127. p. 51.

128. p. 7, 114,
129. *RT* V 175, 265.
130. *Narm.* II 92-99.
131. pp. 51-52.
132. It appears that *nirguṭa* is a clerical mistake for *niyuktas* mentioned in land-grants.
133. Samangad plates, 754 A.D., I.A. XI, p. 112 ; Radhanpur plates, A.D. 808, *EI* IV, p. 242 ; Sangli plates, 933 A.D., *IA*, XII p. 251.
134. p. 64.
135. 8 5-7, 36-38.
136. II 20-28.

5

Judicial Administration

IMPORTANCE OF DHARMA

The primary duty of the state, namely the preservation of social order, was to be achieved by the king by following the precept of *dharma*. The interdependence of the various units of society requires harmonious relations between them and the maintenance of a moral code binding them together. The observance of *dharma* contributes to the welfare of the people on the earth and their happiness in the next world. The elements of *dharma* are compared to a tree: truth to the unfailing branch, mercy to the nectar-like sap, forbearance to shadow, *śīla* to the root and piercing intellect to its creepers. Like the buds it germinates energy, it blossoms 'into all-blessing' flowers and fruit.[1] Kṣemendra strikes a similar note in the *Lokaprakāśa*: 'Law, when destroyed, destroys a man and when nourished, it gives protection. Therefore, none should destroy law. Let it not kill us when disregarded by others.

'Brāhmaṇa is the beginning or root of the tree of law and the king constitutes its body and the branches. The ministers are its leaves and flowers and the administration of equitable justice is the fruit thereof.[2] *Dharma* regulates the life of the individual and stipulates punishments for lapses from prescribed duties; people are reminded of the serious consequences that follow its violation. Law is a ferocious bull, hence, when irritated, it is powerful enough to destroy. Gods have recognized law as *vṛṣabha*. Therefore, none should try to disrespect it.[3] The kingdom is said to be embellished by the mighty arms of *daṇḍa*.[4] Thus *dharma* aims at promoting social good and secures spiritual benefit after death.[5] The king is the wielder of *daṇḍa*,[6] but he himself is subject to it. The necessity for the application of *daṇḍa* to safeguard the privileges, duties and obligations of man as a member of the community is admitted by texts of other periods and other regions.[7]

ORGANISATION OF JUSTICE

The theoretical framework of the judicial machinery is provided in the Smṛti.[8] The constitution of the *dharmā-dhikaraṇa karmasthāna* (court of justice) is of the traditional *Smṛti* type: the king, a body of advisers including *prāḍvivāka* or *stheya* (Judge), *mantripariṣad* and *sabhyas* (jurors) to which Kṣemendra adds the chiefs of the guilds (*śreṇimukhyas*).[9] King Jayāpīḍa was the first ruler to organise it on a sound basis and adorn it with *karṇaśrīpaṭa* obtained from *Strīrājya*.[10] Kṣemendra suggests that the king should appoint as *sabhyas* persons who are well versed in *dharma-nyāya*, are impartial towards friends and foes,[11] are the chiefs of *Śreṇīs*, are of noble descent and prominent *Brāhmaṇas* and have never committed a sin, but not people who are bankrupt (*calitavṛtasya*), atheists, self-centred or great sinners. A learned *sabhya* is not one who has read a number of books but one who dreads the consequences in the next world.[12] Kṣemendra does not mention *śūdras* as members of the *dharmādhikaraṇa* but includes the members of the *śreṇīs* to represent the viewpoint of their respective guilds.[13] Learned Brāhmaṇas find a prominent place in this body, as postulated by earlier Smṛtis as well. The number of the *sabhyas* is not mentioned though a hierarchy of officers in the judiciary is referred to by

Jonarāja[14] to whose time the institution seems to have survived from earlier times. Probably the number of *sabhyas* was seven, as indicated by Bṛhaspati.[15]

Though the topics that give rise to lawsuits are not enumerated separately, the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* helps to form some idea about them.[16] It appears that the traditional list of eighteen titles mentioned by Manu[17] and termed as 'the eighteen legs of lawsuits' in the *Agnipurāṇa*[18] held good for our period and region also.

Manu, Yājñavalkya, Kātyāyana, and Bṛhaspati[19] lay down punishment for the lapses of the judges in delivering wrong judgments. Kṣemendra, in a broad outline, lists the persons who are disqualified to act as *Sabhyas* and whom the king should never trust. These include sinners who are accustomed to commit sins; those who once having lost their wealth, seldom care to preserve their possessions; those who deny the existence of God and pollute the company of the believers. The judges had to be very careful in giving decisions, otherwise they were liable to be punished under the law. Judges who resort to injustice are called the 'thieves of the judiciary' (*nyāyacaurāḥ*).[20] According to Kṣemendra the *Dharmādhyakṣa* or *Dharmādhikarī* should be of noble descent and chief among the Brāhmaṇas, well-versed in *Dharmaśāstra* and impartial to both friend and foe.[21] To secure equitable justice to the aggrieved great emphasis was laid on the impartiality and integrity of a judge.

COURTS

The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* refers to the king's seat of judgment as *dharmāsana*,[22] surrounded by learned *sabhyas*. The court-building is mentioned as *adhikaraṇamaṇḍapa* or *āsthānamaṇḍapa*.[23] It was also briefly referred to as *adhikaraṇa* or *dharmādhikaraṇa*.[24] Kṣemendra in the *Bṛihatkāthamañjarī* refers to it as *āsthānasabhā*.[25] Kalhaṇa refers to the collective body of the *sabhyas* as *Sabhyamaṇḍalam*.[26] The Caṇḍālas, who had no access to the *āsthāna*, were heard in the outer-court (*bāhyāli*) which may be compared to the Diwān-i-Ām of the Mughals. The royal court was divided into the Inner (*Ābhyantara*) and Outer (*Bāhyāli*) like the *Dīwān-i-Ām* and the *Dīwan-i-Khās* of the Mughal rulers.[27] For justice against the tyrannical exactions of courtesans there were *Viṭamaṇḍapas*.[28] Thus, as in the South, the judicial court at the capital was known as *adhikaraṇa*.[29]

From the *Lokaprakāśa* we learn that there were different grades of courts.[30] *Sabhās* were of four kinds—*patitā*, *pratiṣṭhā*, *mudritā* and *śāsitā*. Similarly the *Sabhyas* were also of four kinds. Well established assembly in a city, town or village was called *pratiṣṭhā* (*pratiṣṭhitā*); a moving or temporary one was called *apratiṣṭhita* or *patitā;* that which possessed enough funds was *mudritā*,[31] and that which was presided over by the king was called *śāsitā*. This indicates that besides the village, town or city courts there were itinerant justices of peace moving from village to village and town to town, enquiring into intricate legel cases and lending expert advice when needed by the local courts. Thus there was decentralization of justice and the king's court, in addition to its original jurisdiction, enjoyed appellate jurisdiction as the highest court of appeal in the kingdom. The guild courts, the chief representatives of which are listed by Kṣemendra amongst the *Sabhyas* ensured justice for the corporations [32] The tendency was to encourage local courts which could easily collect reliable knowledge of the facts in a dispute, reduce the burden of central administration and help the cause of justice by proper investigation and promptness in the disposal of cases. This long standing practice seems to have fostered a sense of civic responsibility amongst the members to act in the interest of justice and check the witnesses from deposing false evidence.

PROCEDURE

There is no evidence to suggest that pleaders were engaged by the parties to represent their case. A few cases of dispute that are mentioned in the texts do not indicate that there was such a practice. But the administration of justice really meant the finding out of truth, which was a sacred and religious duty imposed on the king.[33] The charge that "an ancient trial was not much more than a formulated struggle between the parties in which the judges had to act more as umpires and wardens of order and fair play than as investigators of truth" is baseless. This is clear from some of the cases in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. At one place it says that king Candrāpīḍa restored the time of Kārtavīriya by punishing even the most secret crime,[34] after investigating the truth about it by the ordeal of *prāya*.[35] At another place king Yaśaskara is mentioned as investigating the case of a husbandman (*Vāṣṭavyo*) and establishing that he was fraudulently deceived by another merchant on the basis of his account-book,[36] (*gaṇanapatrikā*). In another interesting case the king was able to discriminate between the circumstantial evidence (*Vastusthiti*) and the dependence on truth[37] when a Brāhmaṇa reported that he had been deprived of ninety eight gold coins by a person who had descended into a well to recover his hundred gold coins that had fallen into it by accident.[38]

There are no details about the actual court proceedings but possibly they were not different from what we find in the *Mṛchchhakaṭika*.[39] *Śodhanaka* (a court-attendant) would clean the *vyavahāramaṇḍapa* and arrange the seats. Thereafter, he conducted to the room the judge, accompanied by the *śreṣṭhin*, kāyastha and others. The plaintiff was called in by a *dūta*.[40] Then the judge permitted him to state his case which was recorded by the *adhikaraṇalekhaka* (official recorder)[41] who was also charged with the function of recording the purchase and sale deeds of land. The plaintiff and the defendant had to prove their case. The *adhikaraṇika* thoroughly examined their statements, and interrogated them and the witnesses present in the court.[42] The statements of both the plaintiff and the defendant were recorded on a *samvādapaṭṭaka*.[43] In the reign of king Harṣa bells of justice were kept on all the four entrances of the royal palace which were rung for the aggrieved and distressed people to call the attention of the king.[44] Thus the kings were available to the people for the administration of justice and the redress of their grievances. The king heard complaints even when he was in the dining hall.[45]

From the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* we learn that the court was held in the morning and the time for petitioning the king was fixed (*vijñaptisamaya*).[46] Though normally the court conducted its proceedings in the *Asthāna*, it could also meet in the *bāhyāli*.[47]

The king maintained his propriety (*vṛttāntapaddhati*) and proceeded according to *sadācāra* or *vyavāhara* (custom).[48] He was advised to be mild in passing his judgment in cases with scope for doubt but to act like *daṇḍadhara* (*Yama*) where the plaintiff and the defendant transgress the path of *dharma*. He was further advised to take his own time to comprehend a point of law.[49]

Some idea of the actual working of the court in the Kārkoṭa and post-Kārkoṭa times is provided by the literary works. In the time of Candrāpīḍa, the Superintendents of works (*navakarmādhikārīs*) proceeded arbitrarily to acquire the land and house of a *Carmakāra* for the construction of a temple. The king, disregarding the advice of his ministers, met the *carmakāra* in the *bāhyāli* (outer-court) and having obtained his consent acquired his land in accordance with *sadācāra*.[50] He remonstrated his ministers for not acting according to the precept of *dharma*.[51] Thus the royal decision finally settled the case. From the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* we also learn how sometimes the judges failed to give correct judgment on account of the cleverness of *adhikaraṇalekhaka*, who could emend '*ra*' into '*sa*' and the case had to be finally decided by the king.[52] When there was a controversy (*dharmasaṁśaya*) between two sides regarding the crime, punishment etc. and *vyavahāra* (legal and religious disputes), the case was submitted to the king for his final decision.[53]

Sometimes the judges showed partiality in deciding cases and succumbed to the temptation of money. A direct hit on the morality of the officers of the judicial court comes from the author of the *Narmamāla*[54] and *Kalāvilāsa*.[55] An *adhikaraṇabhaṭṭa* refuses to see, speak and listen and pretends sleep without an inducement of bribe. Swallowing bribes, acquisition of knowledge of others' weak points, cutting or destroying of the good, causing the auction to take place, hiding or guarding of the tricks are the characteristics of an *adhikaraṇabhaṭṭa*.[56] At another place Kṣemendra says how a courtesan managed to appropriate all the valuable possessions by bribing *maṭhibhaṭṭas* (the judges) of the *adhikaraṇa*[57] and got a decree (*jayapaṭṭaka*) in her favour. Though the picture is a little overdrawn, it shows that there was much corruption in the district courts and courts of the *maṭhas*. Candrāpīḍa, Yaśaskara, and Uccala may be quoted as examples of true patrons of justice, although one cannot rule out of a few anomalies in the actual working of the judiciary. Candrāpīḍa is said to have restored all the four *pādas* of *dharma*.[58] He destroyed the demons of doubt that obstruct the path of justice.[59] An ideal king was one who stabilised all the feet of *dharma*.[60]

TRIAL BY WITNESSES

Trials were chiefly based on the depositions of witnesses. Normally even one single witness, pure and righteous, is regarded, as sufficient by the Smṛtis.[61] This does not, however, rule out the possibility of false witnesses. The qualities of a witness as laid down by Kṣemendra correspond to those recommended by the *Smṛtis*. He should be devout, charitable, born of a respectable family, truthful, righteous, straight-forward and should have sons and riches. He should behave in a way enjoined by the *Vedās* and *Smṛtis*.[62] The witnesses, according to the Smṛtis should not be less than three in number.[63] According to Bṛhaspati there may be nine, seven, five, four or three witnesses or two only if they are learned Brāhmaṇas.[64] Women, children, old men, rogues, mad men, defamed persons, actors, hypocrites, fraudulent people, men whose senses have weak vitality, promise-breakers, one's own relations or helpers of one's enemies, thieves, men of inconsiderable judgment (*sāhasī*); an accused person discarded by society are excluded.[65] In cases of theft, damages, (*pāruṣya*) or use of force, it is better to have one righteous person as witness under the approval of contending parties than gathering a number of witnesses.[66] Sometimes the best of the right-acting men would beseech the Guardians of the Quarters (*lokapālas*) to come to witness their chastity in the case of adultery.[67] But this privilege was possibly claimed by ministers of high rank only. It is hard to visualize how the testimony of the *Lokapālas* could be obtained. Possibly the ministers wanted to escape some of the charges which may be provable. The *Lokapālas* were thus regarded as direct witnesses to have seen or heard the matter in dispute of a chief royal functionary. It seems that provision regarding *varṇa* witnesses was not in force. Kṣemendra nowhere mentions any disqualification against any *varṇa* witness, other than the *Śūdras* which is implied in the requirements of the qualification of 'respectable families' and 'regular performance of religious rites' as prescribed in the *Vedas* and *Smṛtis*.[68] We also hear of appointed and unappointed witnesses. Witnesses to the document and secret witnesses are appointed witnesses; the judge, the king and the village community are unappointed witnesses.[69]

ORDEALS

Manu recognises two ordeals, fire and water[70] which could be administered during day-time only. Both were accepted in our period.[71] In certain cases the ordeal of rice-flour was applied.[72] An incantation was uttered over the scattered *śālicūrṇa* and the suspected person was made to walk or circumambulate round it three times. If he left behind his footprints the footprints of *brahmahatyā*, he was declared guilty. This ordeal was administered during night in a holy shrine.[73] It was different from the ordeal of rice-grain (*taṇḍula*) prescribed by Bṛhaspatī which was administered to the accused orally early in the morning.[74] In the *śālicūrṇa* ordeal, if the footprints of *brahmahatyā* were observed as the accused passed over the rice-flour he was not to be suffered to escape.[75] Thus the truth was discovered and punishment duly meted out. This ordeal was possibly applied mainly in the case of the guilty *brāhmaṇas* whose crime could not be established or detected easily because of their Tāntric practices[76] and the employment of some witchcraft for escaping effects of the ordeal by fire or water.

From the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* we learn that there was an ordeal by *prāya*. Curiously enough it was adopted by the victim of injustice against the accused. When all other means of establishing his innocence had failed, the plaintiff took on himself the onus of proving his innocence by means of voluntary starvation (*prāya*). Candrāpīḍa started *prāya* at the Tribhuvanasvāmi temple to ascertain the truth of the fasting brāhmaṇi's statement about a secret crime in which her husband was alleged to have been murdered by a *Māntrika*.[77] At another place we find that a husbandman who failed to get justice at the hands of the judges started a *prāya* at the door of the palace to direct the attention of the king towards a merchant who had cunningly deprived him of his well through the mischief of a scribe. The case was re-opened and the guilt of the merchant was established by the king. King Yaśaskara's administration of justice (*vyavahāra*) was likewise tested by a starving Brāhmaṇa who threatened to die should he fail to get justice at the hands of the king.[78]

It seems that the purpose of *prāya* was to coerce the culprit into confessing his guilt. In place of the ordeal by fire or water, the plaintiff tried to move the heart of the accused by his moral force.[79] The accused was thus threatened with the possibility of incurring another sin, namely the death of the fasting individual (*prāyopaveśī*).

PUNISHMENTS

The *Nīlamata Purāṇa* says that a king should neither be very harsh in awarding punishments nor should he condone the offence of the accused. He should execute the sentence in accordance with the principles laid down in the *rājaśāstra*.[80] According to Kalhaṇa these who are experts in *daṇḍanīti*, do not recommend delay in punishing the Kāyasthas, persons possessed by goblins and enemies.[81] Severe punishments are also recomended for intriguers and cruel Mārgapatīs.[82] For, if they are not punished at the proper time they can pose a grave threat to the king.[83] Kalhaṇa, however, says that the king should not inflict any punishment on the son, wife, friends and relatives of the criminals.[84] Possibly Kalhaṇa thought that if the kings were to treat the relatives of the criminals also very harshly, it might lead to disaffection.

The literary evidence suggests that the offenders, except the brāhmaṇas, were not punished according to their *varṇa*. Kalhaṇa says that none is to be punished till the charge is established and that a Brāhmaṇa, even if proved guilty, is exempt from capital punishment.[85] A Brāhmaṇa could either be banished, or humiliated, in accordance with law, and branded with a dog's foot on his forehead or could be find.[86] However, in the reign of Jayāpīḍa, many brāhmaṇas were either banished or allowed to die through *prāyopaveśa*. Normally it was the responsibility of the state to prevent any death caused through *prāya*. This unusual step was taken possibly because of the opposition of the Brāhmaṇas to his fiscal policy and the king's strong reaction to it.[87] One Ermantaka of Parihāsapura was bound to a stone and thrown into the Vitastā on the charge of having abolished the pilgrimage-tax at Gayā[88] Normally an offence against a brāhmaṇa could be atoned for by a very high amercement. A *bhikṣu* was sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment on the charge of killing a brāhmaṇa's calves.[89]

Treason was punished with death.[90] There was on officer of death (*Kṛtāntādhikṛta*) in whose presence the death sentence was executed.[91] The traitors were dragged through the streets with fetters on the feet of their dead bodies and spat at by the people.[92] Treason on the part of the princes was punished with banishment along with their ministers.[93] Hsüan Tsang correctly records that treason in India was punished by imprisonment for life and not by any corporal punishment.[94] But considering the realities of political life in Kashmir Kalhaṇa warns the kings against dissensions. Hence it was natural that in Kashmir death-penalty was imposed for treason. The tragic circumstances in which Sussala met with his end at the hands of Vyāgra and Utpala shows that treason was considered to be a very heinous crime.[95] We find that king Śaṁkaravarman got the innocent ruler of Dārvābhisāra and his officials murdered at night on the mere suspicion of treason.[96] Sometimes when an accused avoided answering questions relating to treason, he was either poisoned or hanged or subjected to both the punishments simultaneously.[97] Even mere suspicion of treason could lead to the imprisoning of the criminal.[98] The most brutal form of punishment for sowing dissensions and treason was piercing the body with burning needles.[99] We do not, however, know for what particular crime Dilhabhaṭṭāra was poisoned to death.[100] Possibly he too was suspected of being guilty of treason. Embezzlement of state-funds was also punished with death.[101] For offences such as advising a king to surrender to his enemy the punishment was either mutilation of limbs or deportation to another country.[102] A similar punishment was meted out to a deceitful feudatory who refused submission[103] and imperilled the existence of the troops of his overlord through cunning. Persons planning murder were exiled.[104] Forging of state documents was a grave offence for which the criminal's wealth was confiscated and he was deported.[105] The staff-bearers (*Yāṣṭikās*) were employed to deport the offender beyond the boundaries of the kingdom[106] and to cane the culprits.[107] The *Vetris*[108] sometimes humiliated the suspected officials and caned them in public. Sometimes thieves were beaten to death.[109] Withholding of another's deposits was severely punished with.[110]

Kṣemendra throws considerable light on the nature of punishment. Adultery was punished with the amputation of limbs—ears and nose in the case of a woman who had falsely charged her husband with the murder of a Bhīla with whom she had eloped.[111] In another case of a similar nature where the wife falsely charged her husband with the cutting of her nose, the king ordered her two ears to be cut off.[112] A queen garlanded her husband's step-brother. For seducing the queen his limbs were ordered to be mutilated.[113] A courtesan was deprived of her limbs for murdering a merchant's son.[114] All these instances show that the execution of women was looked upon as a heinous crime (*strīvadhapāpa*).[115] Such crimes were severely punished and their occurrence was looked upon as the beginning of *Kaliyuga*.[116] Samudradatta was heavily fined by the *nṛpasabhā* for cutting the nose of a woman.[117] A queen guilty of adultery with a *Caṇḍāla* was sentenced to death.[118]

The concluding *taraṅgas* of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* contain many instances of culprits and suspected criminals being executed on the pale[119] or by a rope drawn round the neck during night.[120] Kṣemendra also refers to the hanging of criminals fixed on the stake.[121] There are also instances where in the economic interests of the people and to prevent the kidnapping of women, officials were sentenced to death.[122] Persons sentenced to death were led to the place of execution in black and red clothes (*nīlarakhta*).[123] All this would suggest that the criminal code was very severe.

King Uccala introduced a few nevel features in the system of punishment. He made some wear clothes of hemp in jail, made others run like strolling players or like Ḍomba soldiers, with their beards bound up, wearing an extravagant head-dress, with a spear in hand and with knees and thighs joined together. Some others were made to dance and sing with pantomimic movements of the head in the company of musicians, courtesans and parasites. Others were bound naked to a cart, with half of their head shaved, the other half covered with lumps of vermilion.[124] The sin of encroaching on an anchorite's *āśrama* and using his drinking bowl was atoned for by simple repentance.[125]

Law and judicial administration show some interesting features. First, the definition of law, and the various titles of litigation are based on the *Nārada Smṛti* and *Bṛhaspati Smṛti*; but the procedural law, the law of evidence, matters of litigation and punishments prescribed thereof are based on the *Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra* and the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*.

Second, the law and judicial administration were not too much caste-bound. Although brāhmaṇas enjoyed exemption from capital punishment, they were not lightly punished in comparison with other castes. The indignities to which they were subjected and the large-scale execution of officials, of whom the Brāhmaṇas formed a sizable number, that took place during the second Lohara dynasty, suggest that they as officials were not spared either. Brāhmaṇas being deported to a separate colony for violating the restrictions on diet[126] and their self-immolation in the time of Kārkoṭas suggests that they could not claim any special privilege.[127] Their laxity in private life, their infringement of social morality have been exposed by Kṣemendra.[128] Their functions as kāyasthas and *adhikaraṇa-bhaṭṭas* does not present a happy picture either at the hands of Kalhaṇa and Kṣemendra.

Third, crimes committed against women are recognized as cognizable offences and severely punished.

Fourth, very serious notice is taken of the crimes committed by royal functionaries. Treason is punished with poison and death both and the rebels are impaled at the stake.

Fifth, the list of crimes and punishment thereof contained in the *Rājataranginī* and the works of Kṣemendra shows that confinement in jail[129] was usually practised. Prisoners from the royal family enjoyed a few facilities of food and drink and the privilege of being guarded by trusted ministers.[130] Princes were confined either in the *nāṭyamaṇḍapa* (Dancing Hall) or the four-pillared palace (*catuhsṭambha maṇḍapa*)[131] and some of the them enjoyed the company of their wives and children. The prisoners were to wear prisonclothes[132] Sometimes prisoners met their doom in the prisoncell[133] They were subjected to all tortures during the course of interrogation[134] in the prison. For the offence of recovering stolen money from a woman she too was confined to a prison.[135] There were officers of prison (*Goptṛ*) to transfer prisoners from one prison to another.[136] We have references to the jailors (*bandhanapāla*) who seem to be negligent in the performance of their duties and morally corrupt.[137] The Jail Super-intendent (*nigrahabhaṭṭa*) fared no better.[138]

POLICE AND JUDICIAL OFFICERS

In one of the Cambā inscriptions we come across an officer styled *pramātṛ* following immediately after the *Rājasthānīya*.[139] He was an officer entrusted with the administration of justice and that accounts for its place immediately after the *Rājasthānīya*.[140]

Kṣemendra speaks of the *Adhikaraṇabhaṭṭa* or *Adhikaraṇadvija*[141] as a class of court officials. They have their counterparts in *Nājhara* in Marāṭhī. They had the authority of attaching the movable and immovable goods of a criminal, summoning the offenders through warrants to the court of law. They could auction the property of the culprit and issue decrees in favour of those that had won the case and those that had lost it. An *adhikaraṇabhaṭṭa* could aspire to the post of a village headman (*grāmagaṇeśa*) and even attain to the position of an assistant of a *Sandhivigrahakāyastha* and *dūta* of the customs post (*drangadeśa*). As the post was hereditary, his sons and grandsons too could become *adhikaraṇadvijas* They were notorious for being corrupt and would amass riches in the form of *śatakas* and *dīnāras* in a leather bag. They are ironically addressed as *bhūrjabhaṭṭa* who could cause destruction and ruin to all people.[142]

CAURAPATI

Since early times there were two ways of apprehending and catching thieves. One was to set a thief to catch a thief and the other was to follow the tracking system. The first practice seems to have been in vogue during our period. The *Caurapati* was an officer whose duty was to look after the safety of traders, businessmen and other merchants who carried on their profession in the lap of that mountain Himalaya where thieves and dacoits roamed about in the market during the night. They stole goods, killed their victims and broke walls. The officer who plotted revengefully against these was known as *Chaurapati.*[143] He seems to be the counterpart of *Cauroddharaṇika* of the three Cambā Copper plates.[144] Vogel takes it as a synonym for *Coradaṇḍavarjya, Coradrohakavarja* or simply *Coravarja* and regards him as a certain class of police officers.[145] We agree with this view. He commanded a contingent of troops under him.[146] It is interesting to note that according to Somadeva a Brāhmaṇa held this post.[147]

NIRGUTA

Nirguṭa is mentioned along with Divira both in the *Samayamātṛka*[148] and the *Lokaprakāśa.* This suggests that he was a minor officer concerned with accounts[149] department and charged with the recovery of debts and outstandings on that account. His association with the *akṣapaṭala* office cannot be ruled out. It seems that he had to recover the king's dues from the sureties of servants, to keep an eye on merchants and to check embezzlement. He seems to be a small police magistrate accompanied by armed husbandmen (*kuṭumbibhaṭa*).[150] Kṣemendra relates how he enters the royal court (*rājakulam*) for fear of being publicly punished for having grabbed the account of hundreds of loan deeds.[151]

PURARAKSINA

Under the *Nagarādhipa* or *Nagarādhikṛta*[152] there were a number of city-guards (*purarakṣinās*). They apprehended thieves and brought them before the *Nagarādhyakṣa* (the Super-intendent of the City).[153] In the event of a theft of precious jewels belonging to the royal household or a murder, they directly reported the matter to the king.[154] They escorted the culprits to the prison (*bandhanasthalam*), the stake (*śūla*) or tied them with a rope to the tree.[155] They were armed with several weapons and patrolled the city and its main roads at night.[156] They seem to be the prototypes of *daṇḍapāśika*[157] (holders of the rod and rope).

RAJAPURUSA

Another set of guards was the *rājapuruṣa* (royal guards).[158] During the course of their periodic visits[159] they supervised and reported the work of village and town officials to the king. It seems that even the religious activities of different sects were checked by them.

From the *Lokaprakāśa* we learn that the kings followed the policy of local responsibility for local crimes. Villagers seem to have shared the responsibility by rotation for apprehending thieves, robbers and maintaining customary laws.[160] They pledged their support in the presence of ministers.

STHANAPALA

The *Nīlamata Purāṇa* informs us that ṣaḍaṅgula, a piśāca, was appointed as Sthānapāla by Nīla.[161] Stein thinks that they were the priests of the temple corporations—the local *purohitas*. This interpretation is hardly warranted by the verse and the context in which it occurs. King Sussala was confronted by an open rebellion of his dissatisfied soldiers and the attack of the Ḍāmaras on the royal palace. In this predicament he was overwhelmed by an unexpected *prāya* (fast unto death) by his palace-guards (*sthānapālas*) clamouring for their salaries.[162] They made him pound up golden vessels and other valuables for distribution. It may be suggested that the Sthānapālas functioned as the guards of palaces and temple property.

REFERENCES

1. *Catur* 1.1.
2. IV.5-6. (p. 80).
3. *LP* IV 5-6 (p. 80).

4. *Ibid* 6.
5. *Catur* 1.3.
6. *RT* IV 656.
7. cf. *Manu* for his admiration of *daṇḍa* (7.17).
8. Br. 1.79; *Kātyā*. 56; Manu VIII 10-11; *Nār*. III.4.5.46; *Vais*. 16: 12.
9. *NKT* 130.1.
10. *RT* IV 588. *Karnaśrīpata* appears to be a scroll of cloth suspended in the court of justice to remind the judges of dispensing justice impartially. The position of *Strīrājya* cannot be determined, though it is likely that the place has to be located somewhere in the northwest frontier of India.
11. *NKT* 130.1-11; cf. *Yāj*. II 2, 3; *Br*. I 29, 30; *Nār*. I. 1-2.
12. The Vedas bear the reward of the fruit of *agnihotra* and *śīla*.
13. cf. *Manu* VIII 41.
14. Jon. 11; *RT* VI 25, 31.
15. *RT* I 118-119; Br. I, II.; *NKT* 122.
16. *RT* VI 16 (debt), 45 ff. (partition); IV 55 ff. (land) ; IV 83 ff. (Criminal acts) etc.
17. VIII.4-7; *Nār*. I.16-19.
18. *Agni* 253.13-30. A legal suit arises out of any of the following causes: debt, breach of trust, partnership, resumption of gifts, non-rendition of services, non-payment of wages, sale of a thing by one who is not the rightful owner, non-delivery of sold goods, purchase, regulation of religious sects and corporations, land, adultery, partition, criminal acts, blasphemy, assault, gambling and prize-fighting etc.'
19. *Manu* VIII.18; *Yāj*. II.4; *Kātya* 70-79; Br. I.24.
20. *Kalā* 1.30; *NKT*. 130.2-8.
21. *NKT* 122 1; *Śrī*. III 47-50.
22. *RT* VI 60; *Vikram* XVIII.50.
23. *LP* I p. 3; cf. *Mrch* p. Act IX *RT* VII.1025; *Proc. IHC*, 1959, p. 130.
24. *RT* IV 588; VI 38; *Das*. p. ; *Nār*. 4.5.46; *Vasis*. 16 : 12.
25. p. 137. 2-3; p. 140.42; *Kuṭṭ* 920.

26. *RT* VI 32.
27. *Ibid.* VIII 1542, 2962.
28. *Kutt* 341.
29. cf. C.M. Minakshi, *Administration and Social Life Under Pallavas*, p. 57.
30. IV p. 58; *Br.* II. 19.
31. It may also mean that which had to discuss manifold state matters and was empowered to use royal seal (*mudrā*) was called *mudritā*.
32. Supra. p. 246.
33. *RT* VI 28.
34. IV 107-108.
35. *Ibid.* 1001-101.
36. *Ibid.* VI 14-40.
37. *Ibid.* VI. 59.
38. *Ibid.* 42 sqq. The Brāhmaṇa had requested him to give whatever he thought proper. At this the clever person took ninety eight coins and returned two gold coins only to its owner. The king could see through the selfishness of the person recovering the sum for the Brāhmaṇa and keeping to himself almost the whole of it. The king restored justice when other *Sabhyas* were swept off their feet by doubts in this case.
39. IX 454-459. (Haridas Sanskrit Granthamala, 252 Varanasi, 1962)
40. *RT* IV 61; VI 57.
41. *Ibid.* VI 38.
42. *Ibid.* VI 25, 31.
43. *LP* p. 14.
44. *RT* VII 879.
45. *RT* VI 42-44.
46. *Ibid.* VI 56; IV 640; *NP* 832 to 839.
47. *Ibid.* IV 62; Supra, p. ; cf. VII 385, 392, 926, 986; VIII 6.
48 *Ibid.* 73; *NP* 832 to 839 (=1002 to 1011); IV 111; VIII 112. The *vyavahāra*, according to the *Agni Purāna*, enables us to know what is just and what is unjust. (253.1).
49. *RT* VIII 158-159.

50. *RT* IV 59 sqq.
51. *Ibid.* IV 60.
52. *Ibid.* VI 38-40; cf. *Mrchch.* IX.
53. *Ibid.* I 81.
54. II 134, 135, 138, 140, 141.
55. IX. 30.
56. *Narm.* II, 140-141.
57. *Samaya* II. 41-43. *Jayapaṭṭaka* was a record of victory in a law suit. (See also *RT* VI 31,25).
58. *RT* IV 46. In the *Kṛta* Dharma is said to constitute all the four *pādas*, viz. *satya* (truth), *dāna* (liberality), *tapas* and *dayā* (compassion). In the *Kaliyuga Dharma* is left with one foot only. Candrāpīḍa is depicted as rising higher in goodness and virtue and making his people submit easily to the discipline of government. (see *GMP—Adhy.* 264, ch. 215, vv. 8, 10, 22 (Kasī, 1963) *Parā. S* Vol. I, 1st *Adhy.* pp. 74-75 (Asiatic Society, 1974); *Manu* 1.81-82; *Bhag. MP*, 12th *Skandha*, *Adhy.* 3 p. 735, sl. 18-24 (Gita Press, Gorakhpur, Sam. 2018).
59. *RT* 53. Mandeha is a Rākṣasa that obstructs the path of the sun.
60. *KSS* XIII. 11.7.
61. *Br.* II. 20; *Manu* VIII 77; *Yaj.* II. 72; Yyāsa says:
    शुचिक्रियश्च धर्मज्ञः साक्षी यत्रानुभूतवाक् ।
    प्रमाणमेकोऽपि भवेत् साहसेषु विशेषतः ।।
62. *LP* IV. p. 80; cf. *Gaut.* 13.2; *Manu* VIII 62-63; *Br.* VII 28.
63. *Ibid.*; cf. *Manu* VIII 60; *Nār.* I, 153, 130 etc; *Yaj.* 2.69.
64. VII, 16-17.
65. *LP* IV p. 80; cf. *Agni* 255. 3-4 which provides a list of seventeen types of persons debarred from acting as witnesses. *Sāhasa* means any criminal act (such as robbery, rape, felony etc.) cf. *Parāśara Smṛti*, Vol. I *Acārakāṇḍa Adhy.* 1, p. 23 (Asiatic Society).
66. *LP* IV p. 80.
67. *KSS* III. 2.117-118.
68. See *Supra* p.
69. *RT* VI 36-40; 57; cf. *Nār.* I, 149-152; *Br.* VII 1-17; *Kātya.* 356-57. It appears that written documents constituted

human evidence and ordeals by water, fire etc. came under the divine evidence. For various types of documents used by the society during the period see *LP* (Prakāshā, pp. 19-49).

70. VIII 114; *KSS* XVII. 6.177.

71. *RT* IV 82 sqq; 93.

72. *Ibid*. IV 102.

73. *Ibid*. 102-104.

74. X, 25.

75. *RT* IV 103-104. A gloss explains the supposition underlying the test recommended by the god. The crime of killing a brāhmaṇa (*brahmahatyā*) follows the murderer in the shape of a female spectre. The gloss here refers to the story in the *Kāsikhaṇḍa* of the *Skandapurāna* (I. *Adhy*. 31) of how *Brahmahatyā* appeared first in the pursuit of Śiva, when this god had struck off the fifth head of Brahman.

76. *RT* IV 93 sqq.

77. *Ibid*. IV 99-100.

78. *Ibid*. VI 54. *Vyavahāra* means:

    (1) transaction or dealing.
    (2) a dispute, a law-suit.
    (3) legal capacity to enter into transactions.
    (4) the means of deciding a matter, used rarely in this sense—*HDS* III pp. 245-46.

    In our treatment the word *Vyavahāra* is taken to mean 'law-suit or dispute in a court' and 'legal procedure'.

79. Even in modern time we hear of instances where through *Satyāgraha* (moral force) an attempt would be made to move the accused to the gravity of his crime.

80. 839, 1367; *NKT* 90, p. 176.

81. *RT* VIII 114.

82. *Ibid*. 117.

83. *Ibid*. 115.

84. *Ibid*. VIII 116.

85. *RT* IV 96, 105; cf. *Br*. XXVII, 11-12; XXI. 14; *Gaut*.

12.43; *Yāj.* 2.77; *Nār* 9-10; *Viṣnu* 5.1-8, *Arth.* 4-8; *Albīrūni* Vol. II, p. 162.

86. *Ibid* VI 109 ; *AKL* 52.20.
87. *Ibid* IV 627 sqq; 254.
88. *Ibid* VI 254-255.
89. *AKL* 105. 21-34.
90. *KSS* VIII.6.122; *RT* VIII 348; 36; *Srīk.* XXV 103 sqq. to 105.
91. *Narm* II 70.
92. *RT* VIII 350.
93. *KSS* XII:3.14-16.
94. Watters, op. cit. I pp. 171-72; Beal: *Hsuan Tsang*, vol. I. pp. 220 222.
95. *RT* VIII 1308 sqq.
96. *Ibid* V 209.
97. *RT* VII 1037.
98. *Ibid* VIII 519.
99. *Ibid* VIII 443-444.
100. *Ibid* VIII 446.
101. *Ibid* 236-241.
102. *Ibid* IV 278-280.
103. *Ibid* IV 305.
104. *Ibid* VII 31.
105. *RT* VI 41.
106. *Ibid* 215.
107. *Ibid* 203.
108. *Ibid* VIII 524; *Narm.* 1.30.
109. *RT* VII 602.
110. *Ibid* 122 ff ; cf. Jolly *Recht U. Sitte.* pp. 102 ff. of the Hindu law regarding deposits in *Stein*, Vol. II, VIII 122 n.
111. *NKT* 24.1 ff.
112. *Ibid* 25.1 ff.
113. *AKL* XIII.32-33.
114. *Ibid* Pallava 72.21-27.
115. *Samaya* 8.33.
116. *Ibid* 37; *AKL* 82.21 ff. For the murder of one's mother the accused is said to suffer the agonies of *avīchi* hell which suggests a very heavy punishment.
117. *Kalā* 3.71-75.

118. *RT* VI 76-83.
119. *Ibid* VII 889, 892; VIII 428 impaling on boats), 530, 645, 679 passim.
120. *Ibid* VII 1037; VIII 615.
121. *Kalā* VI.5.
122. *RT* VII 213.
123. *AKL* Pallava 95.11.
124. *RT* VIII 92-96.
125. *AKL* 83.17-28.
126. *RT* I 342-43.
127. *Ibid* IV 632 sqq.
128. *Narm* and *Deś* passim.
129. *RT* 546; VII 814; *Samaya* II.48.
130. *Ibid* IV 521, 526, 527; VII 681, 737 sqq.
131. *Ibid* VII 707; VIII 611.
132. *Ibid* VII 840.
133. *Ibid* VIII 2340.
134. *RT* VII 1036.
135. *Samaya* II 48-51.
136. *RT* VIII 2300.
137. *Samaya* II 49-50.
138. *Ibid* VI 10.
139. *Vogel* CPI Plate XVII (11.8-10).
140. *Supra*, Ch. III pp. 205-206.
141. *Narm.* II.133 sqq.
142. *Narm.* II 133-134.
143. *LP* pp. 2, 61.
144. Vogel. *Anti*, p. 129.
145. *Ibid*; cf. Jolly, *Hindu Law and Custom*, p. 271 for his interpretation of *Cauroddharanika*, *Cauroddhartar* and *Cauragrāha*.
146. *KSS* XII 6.206.
147. *Ibid.*
148. *Samaya* VII.21; *LP* IV p. 63.
149. *Ibid*. VIII.42; Supra, Ch. IV, pp. 242.
150. *Deś.* VIII 38.
151. *Ibid.*
152. See Supra, Ch. III, pp. 201-203.

153. *KSS* XII.8.163-168; XII 2.64.
154. *Ibid* IX.4.110-113, *NKT* 24.25.
155. *Āgam* Act III, pp. 45, 13; *KSS* XII.2.64-65; 5.194.
156. *KSS* XII.35.11.
157. *EI* XXX, No. 40, p. 241; No. 44, p. 267, XXIV, No. 17, p. 135.
158. *AKL* XXXIV 19-20.
159. *Narm.* I 127.
160. *LP* IV p. 65.
161. 1001-1004.
162. Stein, Vol. II, VIII 811; *RT* VIII 811.

6

Feudalism

GENESIS OF FEUDALISM:

The Nīlamata Purāṇa and the legendary period

Some scholars have traced the genesis of feudalism to the practice of land grants to Brāhmaṇas. In Kashmir we find the system of such grants going back to very early times. We learn from the Nīlamata purāṇa that following the Nāga-Jalodbhava conflict, in which the latter were exterminated, there came up the first settlements of the tribal band of Kaśyapa near Visnupāda in Kramasāra (modern Kaunsarnāg).[1] Possibly these settlers first occupied land in the form of *āśramas* on a rent-free basis as a reward for their military assistance to the Nāgas under their patriarchal chief, Nīla Nāga. Their fortified *āśramas* seem to have served also as local markets for the various bands, now become sedentary; and to provide sustenance for the troops arrived from across the mountains, land had been distributed among the warriors who seem to have been exempted from taxation in lieu of their penance[2] and probably for their protection against the aboriginal tribes. The *Nīlamata Purāṇa* refers to the grant of a village a Candrapura by King Viśvagaśva to a brāhmaṇa chief which possibly is the earliest recorded instance of its kind from Kashmir.[3] For the legendary period we have references to a long series of rulers bestowing on the brāhmaṇas *agrahāras* or whole villages as rent-free lands, the revenues being assigned to the brāhmaṇa corporation or religious institutions and even to individual brāhmaṇas.[4] We have the first mention of an *agrahāra* being given to a corporation of brāhmaṇas (*dvijapariṣada*), by king Lava, Many villages were donated by Khagendra, Godhara etc. The largest number of *agrahāras* were bestowed upon brāhmaṇas by Mihirakula and Gopāditya who settled brāhmaṇas from Gāndhāra at Vijayakṣetra, and from Āryadesa at Khola, Hāḍigrāma, etc. respectively.[5] Tuñjīna's queen established *agrahāras* for *brāhmaṇas* at Katīmuṣa and Rāmuṣa, known for its wealth and prosperity.[6] Meghavāhana established the *agrahāra* called Meghavana, and then the Meghamaṭha.[7] His queen Amṛtaprabhā caused a lofty Vihāra called Amṛtabhavana to be constructed for *deśa* Bhiksus.[8] Bālāditya created an *agrahāra* for brāhmaṇas in Bhedara which was distinguished by its wealth.[9] The brāhmaṇas were not thus the only recipients of the land-grants; the Buddhist monks too benefited by such endowments.

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PRIVILEGES OF THE DONEES IN THE HISTORICAL PERIOD

The most significant feature of these grants was the transfer of all sources of revenue to the donees.[10] The few instances of *agrahāras* referred to above clearly indicate the enjoyment of their revenues by the brāhamaṇas. However, they do not mention the abandonment of any administrative rights by the donors. Administrative rights were perhaps given up for the first time in grant made to brāhmaṇas by the first Kārkoṭa ruler Durlabhavardhana who donated the village of Candragrāma in the castle of Pārviśoka (Modern Divasar Pargana).[11] The village granted seems to have carried with it all the fiscal and administrative privileges and could not be entered by the royal troops or disturbed by government officials.

GROWTH OF MATHAGRAHARAS

The number of *maṭhāgrahāras* and *vihāras* rose in the time of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa.[12] Sometimes land and villages in the kingdom or in a conquered territory were made over to a shrine. In such cases the revenue was assigned to a temple and land together with inhabitants of villages were transferred to it.[13] Thus not only the cultivators but artisans and other villagers were transferred to meet the needs of the donees. The grants must have thus helped to create powerful intermediaries between the king and actual tillers. The donors abandoned not only their revenues but also the right to govern the villages granted. This is indicated by the action of Śaṁkaravarman when he resumed the *agrahāra* lands against a compensatory assignment (*pratikara*), and then cultivated the land himself as if he were a cultivator (*kārṣaka*).[14] New temples were built and endowed with lands.[15] The number of such endowments seems to have been considerable. Brāhmaṇas accepted *agrahāras* even from cruel and vicious kings, Cakravarman and Unmattāvanti.[16] Yaśaskara (A.D. 939-948) granted to brāhmaṇas fifty-five *agrahāras* furnished with various implements (*nānā-opakaraṇa*).[17] The *agrahāras* of Diddā, though not mentioned by name, must have been numerous as she is credited with sixty-four foundations in different localities.[18] Queen Sūryamati bult a *maṭha* provided with an *agrahāra* under the name of her younger brother.[19] At the temple of Vijayeśvara she bestowed one hundred and eight *agrahāras* on learned brāhmaṇas.[20] Maṭhāgrahāras were also founded to perpetuate the memory of brothers, husbands etc.[21] This suggests that queens could also establish *agrahāras* without the formal permission of the kings. It is in this light that we can explain how Vasantalekhā, the wife of profane Harṣa could found *Maṭhas* and *agrahāras* in the city and at the holy Tripureśvara when the *maṭhas* at Jayavana (present Zevan), Sūryamūlaka and Vijayeṣvara were left without endowments.[22] Agrahāras were granted to *agnihotrī* brāhmaṇas [23] Both Kalhaṇa and Bilhaṇa tell us that Saṃgrāmarāja bestowed many *agrahāras* on brāhmaṇas.[24] Ananta seems to have granted numerous *agrahāras* to brāhmaṇas on the banks of the Vitastā,[25] his queen Subhaṭā *alias* Sūryamatī taking precedence over him. Under king Kalaṣa rows of Maṭhas and *agrahāras* are said to have been built there by the thousand.[26] At Tripureśvara Kalaśa founded a permanent endoment (*vyayasthiti*) which possibly imply that certain permanent sources of income from land were transferred to the donees.[27]

Except for a brief interlude (A.D. 1089-1101) during the reign of Harṣa which saw the spoliation of temple images,[28] brāhmaṇas seem to have enjoyed their privileges down to the end of Jayasiṁha's reign. The villages were granted in perpetuity, and the successors of the grantors were placed under the obligation of respecting these grants. Kalhaṇa says that scholars and their descendants were made owners, so long as the planets, the sun and moon should last, of villages possessing an abundance of unimpaired fields which would mean a regular frequently for brāhmaṇas.[29] Expressions like *agrahārkendu* occur frequently in land grants, suggesting permanent ownership of land.[30]

The fiefs granted for as long as the existence of the sun and the moon amounted to a fragmentation of the integrity of the state, and paved the way for the rise of brāhmaṇa feudatories with independent administrative functions not under the authority of the royal officers. Till the reign of Anantadeva the government machinery controlled the *pāriṣads* of the temples through *Gṛhakṛtyādhipati* and *Paripālaka*[31] and the land-grants seem to have carried immunity from taxes mainly.

We know how Śaṁkaravarman resumed *agrahāra* lands and claimed the state-share from the sale proceeds of incense, flowers etc. for which *udraṅga* was assigned to them.[32] From the *Kuṭṭanīmata* we learn that the same *udraṅga* was also given to Ṭhakkuras (feudal lords) to meet the expenses of trying civil and criminal cases.[33] This would imply that the royal donors conferred upon the grantees a similar right of trying cases in the donated villages. Thus the grants made to the *maṭhāgrahāras* led to the development of semi-independent areas enjoying immunities which were gradually converted into private *jāgirs*[34] Yaśaskara (A.D.) 939-948) built on a piece of his father's land a Maṭha for students from Āryadeśa and to the chief of this Maṭha (*maṭhādhipati*) he presented the royal insignia resplendent with umbrellas and chowries, with the exception of the mintdies (*ṭaṅka*) and the royal seraglio.[35] As the number of land-owning brāhmaṇas increased the number of peasant-proprietors paying land-tax directly to the king fell off. These cultivators now paid rents to priests, temples monasteries.

and other intermediaries. Some of the donees turned their attention to the management of land. Any attempt to disturb them provoked resistance. This is partially borne out by the fasts of brāhmaṇas of Vijayeśvara, Gokula, etc. who to protect their temple-wealth thronged everywhere with rows of sacred images placed on litters and drums, cymbals etc.[36] The land grants made to the brāhmaṇas, led to decentralisation and strengthened the forces of disintegration. The organisation of the fasts (*prāya*) shows that during this period the *pariṣads* were capable of threatening the authority of the state. Taxation system and the coercive power based on the army, the hall-marks of a centralised state, when shared with others led to economic instability and weakening of the central authority.

LACK OF CENTRALISED ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF FEUDALISM

The tendencies leading to the phenomenal growth of a feudal complex may be studied with the help of epigraphic evidence from the grant of land from Cambā. In Campā (Cambā), a feudatory state of Kashmir, the ruler gave up his control over almost all sources of revenue, including pasturage, orchards, water-courses, ingress and egress (road-cess), and the use of the cultivable and fallow land.[37] The most striking thing was that the grantee was exempted from all taxes (*akincitkara*).[38] His enjoyment of the *agrahāra* land was uncurtailable, unopposed inalienable and accompanied by the privilege that it was not to be entered by district officers (*cāṭa* and *bhaṭa*) or their servants.[39] It was to be enjoyed in perpetuity by the grantees and their descendants. The residents of the *Janapadas* in the enjoyed land were to deliver to the donee the regular and fixed *bhāga*, *bhoga*, *kara*, *hiraṇya* etc. and every other tribute due to the king.[40] And the *Cāṭa* and *bhāṭa* (district officers) and other subordinate officers were not to alight at his house, to cut (*lavana*) or crush (*pamardana*) his corn, sugar-cane (*sasekṣu*) or pasture, whether green or ripe, nor to take *rocika* or *citola* (perhaps some kind of fruit) or to take cow's milk, nor to carry off stools, benches or couches, nor to seize his wood, fuel, grass, chaff and so on.[41] Not even the slightest oppression or vexation was to be inflicated on him and the infringement of the order was punishable. She future kings of the dynasty were exhorted, to recognize and preserve the brāhmaṇical inheritance;[42] and were warned of the dreadful consequences of its usurpation.[43]

Further, these inscriptions reveal that the royal donor conferred upon the grantee and his future progeny the right of trying cases, without the interference of *cāṭas* and *bhaṭas* or their servants. Apparently, *sadaśāprādhaḥ* extends the right of the donee to criminal and civil cases[44] and, invested with these powers, the donee could convert his benefice into practically independent pockets.

OFFICERS CONNECTED WITH LAND-GRANTS

The officers mentioned in connection with the land-grants of Cambā have their prototypes in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, *Lokaprakāśa*, *Deśopadeśa* and *Narmālā*. *Rājanaka*, *Rājāputra*, *Rājāmātya*, *Rājasthānīya*' *Pramātṛ*, *Viśyapati*, *dūta*, *gamāgamika*, etc. are frequently mentioned in these texts.[45] The *Deśopadeśa-Narmamālā* describe at length the depredation caused by district officers like *Gṛhakṛtyādhipati*, *Nirguṭa*, *Bhaṭṭa*, *divira* and their soldiers when they visited the villagers and forcibly took away their bamboo-cots, copper vessels etc.[46] The immunity of the *agrahāra* lands from their interference was secured by *śāsanas*.

RUDHABHARODHI

There are indications that peasants were subjected to *rūḍhabhārodhi* which a king relinquished in the villages made over to the brāhmaṇas, temples and monasteries. This is established by the fact that Śaṁkaravarman revived the practice of forced carriage of loads and withdrew the immunity enjoyed by the donees,[47] so that the brāhmaṇa tenants also had to bear the burden of the impressed labour.[48] The *rūḍhabhārodhi* known as *viṣṭi*[49] or *sarva-pīḍā*[50] in other land-grants of India seems to have obtained on a considerable scale for as many as thirteen unspecified kinds of it are referred to.[51] Thus the beneficiaries could indulge in these oppressions to exact forced labour and compel the peasants to work in the lands under their direct cultivation. We have, however, no means of determining the direct burden on the peasants on this account in the *agrahāra* lands. We learn from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that forced labour could be commuted into money payments. In one case the villagers who failed to carry loads for a year were punished with fines equal to the value of the load, based on the higher prevalent prices in the neighbouring areas.[52] Sometimes forced labour was commuted into payment in both cash and kind.[53] Immunity from *rūḍhābhāroḍhi* thus seems to have been obtained by the *pāriṣadyas*.[54] But we have no clear instances of peasants securing similar exemption from impressed labour by payment in cash and kind either in Kashmir or other parts of Northern India. We know that on one occasion troops of woodcutters provided Jayasiṁha's camp set for battle with all supplies in abundance and cleared the way through the forests. Kalhaṇa remarks that the wailing of the villagers who were oppressed by the forced carriage of loads served as a kind of expiatory oblation (*kṣānticam*).[55]

PRINCES AND MERCHANTS AS DONORS

Not only kings and queens but Yuvarājas and princes[56] also erected shrines and made grants of lands and villages in their favour and offered money-fief. Ministers too founded *agrahāras*[57] Hanumata, Dhanya, Udaya, Śriṅgāra, Maṅkha and Nona made such grants.[58] It seems that on payment of commutation fees for taxes, they provided for the brāhmaṇas to enjoy the donated land in perpetuity without taxes. This is indicated by the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and documents in the *Lokaprakāśa*[59] where even the brāhmaṇas, after acquiring riches from their earlier *agrahāras*, established *agrahāras* on their own to attain spiritual merit. Thus we find a practice of sub-infeudation from the time of the Kārkoṭas down to the second Lohara dynasty. We learn from these documents that the enjoyment of revenue-free land was open to both learned brāhmaṇas and to those who rendered religious services to their donors and their forbears.

LAND GRANTS BY INDIVIDUAL BRAHMANAS

The *Lokaprākaśa* enumerates a land-grant[60] made by a married couple to a learned bachelor brāhmaṇa for offering worship at the feet of Śrī Vijayeśvara to redeem their parents. Twelve *prasthas* of cultivable land, purchased by the donors for an amount of fifty-seven thousand *dīnāras*, managed and possessed by them for long, was bequeathed to the Brāhmaṇa by way of endowment. In the same deed of endowment (*dakṣiṇāpratipādanapaṭṭaka*) the donee was assured that the donors in their Vaiśyajana or their collaterals would not cause any disturbance to the Brāhmaṇa beneficiary. The beneficiary of the agrāhara land could alienate a part of it by gift or sale. The donees exercised the right of surrendering their fiscal and administrative privileges in return for the payment of a cash amount for the purchased land as is indicated by the deed of endowment. They were invested with proprietory rights over their *agrahāras* which the donors or their successors would not normally take away, considering the spiritual merit of the donations and the misfortune that followed their violation.[61] In the case of the donation by individuals the endowment deed was executed by a *gaṇanāpati* in the presence of the king.[62] Thus the consent and approval of the king were obtained for a land-grant made by an individual.

Royal edicts (*dakṣiṇāpaṭṭaka*) were issued, fixing remuneration for persons in charge of *maṭhas*, temples and *vihāras*. These seem to have been renewed from time to time (*likhitalekhapaṭṭakam*).[63] Thus each attendant in service to the various deities had a portion of land assigned to him for his personal supports.[64] The royal grants (*rājaprasādāpaṭṭakam*) were accompanied by royal edicts for the execution of daily worship to a god or goddess in some state-temple (*pūjāpaṭṭakam*).[65] It is interesting to note that the *Pārṣadas* (members of the priest corporation) enjoyed the income of the *Pārṣadi-bhukti* in the name of the deity.[66]

NUMBER OF LAND-GRANTS

No statistics of land-grants is available but the references for our period would suggest that a great portion of land had accumulated in the hands of brāhmaṇas, priestly corporations and shrines. It seems that these charters were generally inscribed on rolls of *bhūrja* (birch-bark), a perishable material which explains the absence of epigraphic evidence in this regard. It is also likely that many copper plates were destroyed by natural and artificial ravages, in the turmoil caused by the Ḍāmaras and other para-military tribes as also the subsequent political instability arising from the inroads of the neighbouring chiefs. As late as the reign of Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1128-1151), the cities of the two Pravarasenas were adorned with great maṭhas and bridges and were richly provided with numerous *agrahāras* for their maintenance.[67] It appears that the *dānapaṭṭakas* (land-grant documents) were executed by the *paṭṭopādhyāyas* (recorders) in the *Akṣapaṭala* office on birch-bark,[68] whereas in Cāmba the number of such *agrahāras* was not so large but copper plates were used to perpetuate the memory of the donors. The diatribe of Kṣemendra against *bhūrjabhaṭṭas* supports our viewpoint.[69] Anyway, the donees enjoyed fiscal and administrative privileges in their *maṭhāgrahāras*. Apparently, the rulers had endowed these *agrahāras* to the beneficiaries for securing spiritual merit and had vested them with economic powers to ensure their co-operation in maintaining their hold over the peasants. But the brāhmaṇas seem to have failed in keeping their peasants in check. It looks doubtful whether with the frequent inroads of the Ḍāmaras and their raids on the *agrahāras* brāhmaṇas could reap their economic advantages fully. Now and then a strong ruler like Avantivarman might assist them to enjoy their privileges[70] but with the weakening of the central authority where was the guarantee to do so. In theory, the land-grants were regarded inviolable, but as the kings suffered enormous loss of income, the charters were often disregarded in practice with impurity. From the last two Books of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* we learn that the kings of Kashmir had to struggle both against the turbulent Ḍāmaras and the *pāriṣadyas* who were reluctant to surrender their fiscal privilegs. Thus unlike the beneficiaries of other parts of Northern India the brāhmaṇas in Kashmir were in possession of ramshackle *agrahāras* the fiscal privileges of which were mostly enjoyed by a sizable section of a turbulent class of peasantry, most of whom were the followers of Ḍāmaras. On the one hand the surrender of the right to taxation in the extensive areas of land donated to brāhmaṇas meant a severe blow to the power of the king. On the other predatory excursions of the Ḍāmaras on the *agrahāra* lands and other peasants prompted them to measure swords with the kings. Both these developments in Kashmir undermined the Central authority leading to further confusion and anarchy in the wake of which feudal tendencies were further strengthened.

FEUDALISATION OF ADMINISTRATION

Feudal institutions are apt to flourish in a state which lacks a strong centralised government and has primitive means of communication and transport. It can ensure the minimum safety and peace in distant areas and side valleys cut off by ravines and mountain gorges, by giving recognition to such trusted persons as would be able to command obedience of the local community, raise their own army and maintain it out of the revenues assigned to them. They would be entrusted with the functions of administering civil and criminal justice and empowered to collect taxes and other dues and obliged to come to the help of their overlord when called upon to do so. This explains the position of the *Rājasthānīyas* put in charge of districts and functioning both as civil and military officers.[71] A peculiar feature of Kashmir polity is that its geopolitical conditions forced upon it a system of administration which was military oriented. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, *Lokaprakāśa* and other literary texts show that all the officers of the state—both at the centre and in provinces—were basically army commanders. Clear instances of these are provided in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and the *Kuṭṭanīmata*. A royal priest, a domestic chaplain of the ruler, is depicted as enjoying a thousand villages with the privilege of *chhatra* and *vāhana*. He is stated to have been like a *sāmanta* (*sāmantatulya*).[72] He remained in attendance upon the king and enjoyed the income of the villages donated to a monastery. From the same source we learn that a Brāhmaṇa pilgrim was bestowed with jewels, villages, elephants, horses, gold etc. and made a *Sāmanta*. Another officer too was made a *Sāmanta*, a tiara was put on his head as also on his son, and several *viṣayas*, horses and a heap of jewels and ten crore gold coins and a handsome monthly pay (*vṛtti*) were fixed upon him. He became like a king, enjoying the privilege of the white *chnatra*.[73] It seems that donee brāhmaṇas were also transformed into feudal chiefs. The *Lokaprakāśa* refers to various types of brāhmaṇas, one being known as *Sāmanta--bhaṭṭa* [74] One *Sāmantabhaṭṭa* made Saṅgrāmarāja flee from one apartment to the other after the murder of Tuṅga, the chief-minister of the king, who was a protege of the Brāhmaṇa feudal chief.[75]

Somadeva shows how the princes, by means of a charter (*śāsana*), were made the chieftains of petty localities and the subjects therein were transferred under their control. Land-grants were made in favour of these princes along with their retainers. They set up the whole apparatus of administration together with their ministers, officials and the fourfold army.[76] Some of their reliable officers accompanied them wherever they went.[77] These princes are described as *naranātha* which would suggest that they were followed by a number of vassals.[78] The *Kuṭṭanīmata* says that the princes were maintained on land assignments together with their carriages, conveyances and infantry.[79] If we take Samarabhaṭa as a veiled reference to Lalitāpīḍa, Jayapīḍa's son and successor, it will follow that he governed a province on behalf of his father. Dāmodaragupta shows that the princes maintained themselves on allotted revenues and the remuneration of the infantry and possibly of the cavalry through assignments of land introduced an important feudal element in the land system of Kashmir. The prevalence of this practice is vouched by the chief councillor of Jayāpīḍa[80] (A.D. Cir. 751-782) who, in his poem, refers to the allotment of a village and of many *halas* of land to government employees.[81] This method of payment seems to have continued since many centuries. Hsüan Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, in the seventh century, mentions that "Ministers of state and common officials all have their portion of land and are maintained by cities assigned to them."[82] Thus we find that since the rule of the Kārkoṭas land endowments for princes and other high officers were not unknown.[83] Those princes who governed provinces lived in military cantonments (*niveśana*).[84] The *Lokaprakāśa* explicitly says that good cultivable land (*satkarṣa*) was assigned to officials (*pāda*).[85] This is supported by the *Kuṭṭanīmata* in which prince is shown granting a piece of fertile land to an officer in a good region.[86] Such land-assignments were preferred to payment in cash for services rendered by an officer. Land grants of this nature improved the status of the officer. He was elevated to the position of a *Ṭhakkura* who formed a hereditary hierarchy of officers of the state. He was expected to maintain soldiers, horses and retainers (*pauṣyajana*) whose expenses were defrayed from the landed assignment rich in sources of revenue (*analpahalajīvanam*). The kings set apart a few pieces of good cultivable land for the Ṭhakkuras to raise troops for their overlord.[87] The Ṭhakkuras occupied their quarters in the village, corresponding more or less to 'manors'[88] of mediaeval Europe.

A verse in the *Kuṭṭanīmata* sets the king along side his *sāmantas* (Ṭhakkuras) accompanied by their kinsmen.[89] The liegemen are addressed as: "You are like the *gotra-putras* of the family. You have your share and live comfortably in the house." The concept of a paternalistic attitude was so deep rooted in the social consciousness that it coloured the whole lord-vassal nexus. A strong concept of house (*ie*) in the family organisation of the feudal society of Japan characterised the relation between the vassal and his overlord, the former calling himself a child (*ie-no-ko*) of the latter.[90] We see here the basis of a sort clan kinship loyalty characterising the relationship of the vassals to their overlords. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* too depicts Avantivarman sharing his political power with his kinsmen (*bandhu-bhṛtyas*).[91] This would suggest that kinsmen were set up as petty chieftains of various territorial units. This practice continued and we find Lohara being assigned to princes on the same pattern.[92] This subsequently encouraged pretenders to thwart the central authority and even attempt to seize the Kashmir throne.[93] Bhaṭṭotpala, (Śaka 890, corresponding to A.D. 968) a native of Kashmir and a younger contemporary of Dāmodaragupta, describes the *Yuvarāja* as a partner of the king in the enjoyment of the kingdom.[94] The distribution of land among the members of the royal family reduced kingship to a nominal headship. The *Kuṭṭanīmata* thus helps us to see the feudal society of the eighth century, the fundamental features of which, according to Marc Bloch, are "a subject peasantry; wide spread use of service-tenement (*i.e.* the fief) instead of a salary, which was out of the question; the supremacy of a class of specialized warriors; ties of obedience and protection which bind man to man, without the warrior class, assume the distinctive form of vassalage; fragmentation of authority—leading inevitably to disorder; and, in the midst of all this, the survival of other forms of association; family and state, of which the latter, during the second feudal age was to acquire renewed strength."[95]

SUB-INFEUDATION

The *Kuṭṭanīmata* makes it clear that the princes could dispose of a part of their benefice freely, by granting a village or a few *halas* of land to Ṭhakkuras to raise troops and to maintain their soldiers, horses and retainers.[96] This left scope for further sub-infeudation as the Ṭhakkuras were charged with the duty of their maintenance which was possible only by further dividing the land amongst their followers to keep up the strenth of their armed troops in their fiefs.[97] We have another case of sub-infeudation of a similar nature but pertaining to the *brahmadeya* lands. The *likhitakriyākāracīrikā* (the written service-deed) in the *Lokaprakāśa* shows that the donees of the *brahmadeya* lands could donate a part of their lands without transferring their right of gifting it away, selling or mortgaging it. They bound these donees with the obligation of serving in their houses or joining the army when the occasion arose.[98] If the *avalāganavāṭakacīrikā*[99] (the *cīrikā* pertaining to land tenure) is taken to refer to earlier practice for military service, it would follow that a tenant bound himself to his master with certain obligations of service, including recruitment in cavalry corps (*aśvasthala*). It appears that military service and attendance on one's lord was secured by *avalagna* and the vassal himself seems to have been under a similar obligation of providing troops to his overlord in the conditions of the same *avalagna*. In both cases the burden on the peasants was increased. They had to sustain the army and the official hierarchy. It seems that their labour services were appropriated by the local chief who was the representative of the royal power in the countryside, and would not fail to make wide and effective use of his powers and compel peasants to perform unpaid work of various kinds. Amongst these services may be included filling up the granaries or the stores of the army, taking things into or out of their camp, cleaning their barracks, tending their horses, spinning yarn of wool for the clothes of the soldiers etc. The peasants under these donees were reduced to a servile position no better than that of the serfs. The free peasant lost in status because of the imposition of several new taxes.[100] He had to pay forced contributions for the monthly pay of the Skandakas which probably refers to either the village headman or the military camps stationed in the villages.[101] The various exactions and imposts comparable to feudal dues in Europe bore heavily upon him. During the Kārkoṭa and Utpala periods the local chiefs along with their armies were maintained on the villages.[102] A considerable share of the produce thus went to these princes who seem to have behaved like independent chieftains. This possibly explains the recurrence of the wars of succession waged by the pretenders with the help of para-military tribes. The princes seem to have enjoyed several economic rights which cut the economic ties between the Central Government and the donated villages. The *grāmadaṇḍa*[103] referred to in the time of Śaṁkaravarman possibly refers to the forced contributions of supplies to royal troops and officials stationed there. It may be likened to the tax known as *Senābhakta* in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya.[104] The evidence of the *Kuṭṭanīmata*, the *Lokaprakāśa* and the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* points to the stationing of a local militia under local chiefs maintained at the cost of villages.[105] The burden seems to have been spread over all the inhabitants of the village-peasants, artisans etc. The *lotradaṇḍa*,[106] another impost collected from the villagers, was probably a maintenance cess realized from the villagers at the time of the arrival of irregular military and police forces. The *Deśopadeśa-Narmamālā* refer to the movement of the *Cākrikas* (*Cakracāri*) and *Puṁscā-*

lakas in the midst of the *agrahāra* and ordinary villages.[107] The manner in which the band of these irregular soldiers apprehended the offenders and bound cows and attached the property of the temples suggests that they were the prototypes of *cāṭas* and *bhaṭas* referred to in the inscriptions. The *grāmadaṇḍa* and *lotradaṇḍa* were meant to meet the various needs to these unwelcomed guests and seem to correspond to the *Cāṭabhaṭapraveśa-daṇḍa* and the fines or dues leviable at the time of the halt or departure of the royal officers.[108]

From what has been said above it follows that some feudal usages, such as sub-infeudation and service-tenures, in the donated villages worsened the position of the peasant. He had to pay numerous taxes which left very little proportion of the produce for the support of his family.[109] *Grāmasvāmis* and *Grāmabhoktṛs* appear to have been military captains enjoying the revenue of villages[110] for the upkeep of their army. The peasants obviously suffered a great deal on account of the contributions they had to make for the fees and maintenance of royal officials of all ranks. The *Narmamālā* shows that these contributions were realised by the officials for whom they were meant.[111] This was bound to prove oppressive to the peasants in whose villages the local chiefs[112] were maintained alongwith a hierarchy of officers. The presence of horsedealers in possession of villages and ruling over neighbouring territories further added to the misery of the villagers.[113]

EKANGAS AND TANTRINS

We have shown elsewhere how the feudalisation of military administration took place.[114] The Ekāṅgas and Tantrins, who constituted the main strength of the army, were remunerated in land-assignments. The Tantrins are frequently mentioned in the period after Sugandhā who maintained a precarious hold on the administration mainly with their help.[115] They were at the height of their power during the thirty-year long period of internal trouble (A.D. 903-936). These foot-soldiers are represented as true Praetorians who formed an important and often troublesome part of the army, supporting one or other claimant to the throne.[116] Etymologically the word *Tāntrin* can be examined as:—

(i) 'Those who regarded the interests of their own kingdom were the *Tantras* or *Tantrī*.
(ii) *Āvāpin*: would watch the activities of the enemies.
(iii) *Tantra*: 'to keep a vigilant eye on the country's own interest'.

Another para-military group, viz. the Ekāṅgas[117] was an equally powerful armed force. They are frequently mentioned along with the *Sāmantas*, ministers, Tāntrins and Kāyasthas and are shown influencing the affairs of the state.[118] They are seen closely associated with the *Akṣapaṭala* where Harṣa collected them for his last bid in a struggle against his opponents.[119] They supported the civil authorities in the collection of revenue. They appear in the consecration ceremony of kings.[120] Both the Tantrins and Ekāṅgas are frequently mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Stein considers them to be the royal bodyguards,[121] a regiment closely resembling the 'Paltan Nizāmat'. It, however, appears that they constituted the main body of the king's army and on their support or otherwise depended the fortunes of the rulers. The rising of the Ekāṅgas and Tantrins is considered by Kalhaṇa to be as grave as the danger caused by the disaffection of princes, ministers and other high functionaries.[122] Kalhaṇa gives a fair indication of the growing power of the Ekāṅgas and Tantrins who were an important factor in feudal polity and economy of Kashmir. Even if the Ekāṅgas are taken as the 'Companions of the King',[123] they seem to have developed into landed chieftains. The Tantrins and *Ekāṅgas* were organised possibly in units of 10 or 100. The *bhṛtyaratnas* of king Sussala were to the king what the Rājas of the Punjab were to Arjuna in the battlefield of Kurukṣetra.[124]

LAND-GRANTS FOR MILITARY AND ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES

There is no epigraphic evidence of grants made to officers for their military and administrative services. Nevertheless the possibility cannot be completely ruled out. Manu enjoins that officers in charge of administrative units of 10, 20, 100 and 1000 villages are to be paid by grants of land.[125] He recommends land-grants for remunerating these officials for collecting royal dues (*rāja-pradeyāni*) and maintaining law and order.[126] From the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* we know that Dhanya (chief justice) and Rilhaṇa (*Dvārādhipa*), both of the ministerial rank, proceeded to *Pāñcigrāma* alongwith the Rājaputras to fight against the pretender Bhoja.[127] Rilhaṇa enjoyed the charge of Kherī which possibly was a rich revenue-yielding area in close proximity to Pañcigrāma which was perhaps held by the Rājasthānīya Dhanya. Daśagrāmī[128] seems to have been under the control of the pretender Bhoja. The *Lokaprakāśa* speaks of the *Rājasthānīya* in the sense of a revenue-cum-military officer.[129] The decimal system of territorial organisation was not thus unknown during this period and accordingly there were officers as *pañcagrāmī*, *daśāgrāmī* etc.[130] The provincial governors bore the designation of *Maṇḍaleśa*, *maṇḍaleśvara* and *maṇḍaleśitṛ*.[131] They commanded a sizable armed force[132] which, as we have seen above, were maintained on the revenues of villages. Possibly large areas were granted as fiefs to ministers who functioned in the dual capacity of civil authorities and army commanders.[133] The title of *maṇḍaleśvara* indicates that its holder had under his charge a whole *maṇḍala*[134] from which he received emoluments to support his dignity and to maintain the troops under his charge. How wide was the area of the *maṇḍala* entrusted to him is difficult to say but it must have been fairly large to support him and his soldiers.[135] Some of the Ṭhakkuras were maintained on the revenues of a *deśa* and hence were designated as *deśaṭhakkura*. They had a large number of feudatory-chiefs (*bhūpas*) attached to land as their service-tenure.[136] *Sāmantas* who played an important role in the succession of kings held big fiefs for we learn from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that the disgraced officials in the time of Uccala sought employment with them and made even their mothers, sisters, daughters and wives offer their persons to them.[137] The *rājanyas* and *amātyas* are shown taking part in fierce battles along with Tantrins[138] which suggests that like the foot-soldiers they too enjoyed revenue-assignments. *Rājānakas* and *rājaputras* usually figure in the inscriptions of Cambā[139] from the tenth to the twelfth century. From the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* we learn that besides occupying administrative posts they took part in battles. Land-grants were made in their favour. A few *huṇḍikās* in the *Lokaprakāśa* show *rāutras* in possession of the *brahmadeya* lands.[140] There *Dhānya-huṇḍikās* obligate the tenants to render certain services besides carrying *rāutras*' grain to their granary in their place of encampment (*rañjivarāsthala*). The term *rāutra* is the Kashmiri *apabrhaṁśa* of the Sanskrit *rājaputra* which indicated a rank during the Lohara period. From the *Lokaprakāśa* they seem to have belonged to the brāhmaṇa communities and the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* mentions them as belonging to the Kṣatriya community as well. The inscriptions of the Gāhaḍavālas show that they formed a very numerous class of military beneficiaries.[141] Thus the *rāutra* seems to have been a vessal whose main function was to render military service to the State. The assumption of power by Parvagupta, the minister of Unmattāvanti, and behaving like a *rājan* and *rājānaka*, indicate that he possibly appropriated all the land that was enjoyed by these vassals.[142] We are told that the faithful minister Naravāhana, made Diddā acquire power over the whole land for which he was inducted into the council of ministers with the title of *Rājānaka*.[143] This would mean that his office was feudalised and he held vast fiefs[144] The grant of the privilege of *pañcamahāśabda*[145] to the officers also proves that it was the insignia of political authority and was conferred on one who had distinguished himself as a successful minister of war and peace (*saṁdhivigrahika*) or had given proof of his fidelity to the state. Mitraśarman (the minister of Lalitāditya), Jayadatta (the minister of Jayāpīḍa), Utpalaka (the maternal uncle of Cippaṭajayāpīḍa) were men of outstanding ability and merit to hold this office. Kalhaṇa mentions that Jayadatta was a very resourceful minister who enjoyed the earth (*jagatībhujaḥ*) which suggests that the minister enjoyed huge revenue from the villages of his master.[146] Utpalaka was no less a powerful minister. He had the son of his sister, Jayādevi, crowned king to whom he gave food and dress from the income of the fifth accounts office.[147] Kalhaṇa says that the new king Ajitāpīḍa was dependent upon his maternal uncles who carried off the revenue of the country, founded towns, temples etc. and richly endowed them all.[148] Thus, ministers during our period were very powerful army commanders who enjoyed local strength, raised huge armies, decided the fortune of kings and enjoyed the revenue of a number of villages. The title of the *pañcamahāśabda* invested the recipient with complete authority to dispose of the villages and grant lands to *agrahāras*. This must have further accelerated the process of sub-infeudation and undermined the authority of the overlord. Jayadatta, the minister of Jayāpīḍa. built a maṭha at the castle of Jayapura.[149] The village granted to this maṭha possibly carried with it some fiscal and administrative privileges. This seems to be a singular instance of the endowment of a maṭha by a minister who in his own right could transfer the revenues and powers of administration to the donees, thus considerably undermining the authority of the central power. The practice of granting revenues of land, the right to receive taxes, tolls, contributions etc. and the implicit authority over the people residing there to officers with the title of the *pañcamahāśabda* encouraged the forces of disintegration. The function of the five new offices (*pañcakarmasthāna*) over and above the eighteen offices suggests that their holders wielded enormous revenue and administrative powers.[150] The *pañcamahāśabda* conveys the meaning of five *karmasthānas*[151] whose functions were controlled by its holder. The suggestion of Aiyangar[152] that the term does not imply any specific office, but merely an honorific title is not supported by the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. This was undoubtedly the highest distinction that could be attained by a minister, for even the *Yuvarāja* enjoyed no higher feudal privilege than this.

Ministers, besides discharging their duties, also attended to their millitary responsibilities. They maintained their own stores of provision for their soldiers and when they relinquished their post or were dismissed by the king, they were accompanied by their soldiers.[153] Obviously the ministers and their forces were maintained on land-assignments. They built shrines which, it seems, were maintained out of the land donated by them.[154] We know from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that the Khaśas played an important part in the civil wars of Kashmir. Possibly the Khaśa chiefs were employed as captains of mercenaries. King Kṣemagupta took thirty-six villages from one *vihāra* and gave them into the tenure of a Khaśa ruler.[155] These Khaśas rank among the state officials of the Cambā title deeds along with *rājānaka* etc. This suggests that remuneration of state officials of various ranks was made in the form of revenue-assignments.

Our findings about the feudalisation of administration are supported by the following account of a Korean pilgrim, Hui-Cha'o,[156] who visited Kashmir sometime in A.D. 722:

> According to the law of the Five Indies, from the king, the royal consort and the princes down to the chiefs and their wives all build monasteries separately in accordance with their respective capacities and abilities. Each of them builds his own temple, but does not construct it jointly. They say when each person has one's own meritorious virtues, what is the necessity of joint effort ?
>
> Whenever a monastery is built, village and its folk are immediately offered to support the Three Precious ones. Merely building a monastery without making any donation of a village and its folk is not done. This is followed as an example by the foreign countries. The king, the queen, and royal consorts have their respective village and their folk. The princes and chiefs also have their respective village and their folk. Donation is free and the king is not asked for that. This is also applied in case of building a temple. When it is necessary to build a temple they build it and the king is not asked. The king dare not obstruct; he is afraid lest it should infect him with sins.
>
> As to rich commoners, though they have no village, they try their best to build temples and manage these by themselves. Whenever they obtain things, they offer them to the Three Precious ones. As in the Five Indies, no human being is sold; so there are no female slaves. Villages and their inhabitants could be donated if wanted and necessary.

The *Memoirs* of the Korean monk shows that there was a well-established practice of donating settled villages to the monasteries by kings, queens, princes and chiefs. Not only the kings and queens but also the princes and chiefs possessed their own villages and village folk whom they could gift away freely. Obviously, princes and chiefs received land grants for their maintenance from their superior lord and were free to donate a portion of their land along with the men working on it and artisans inhabiting it without the approval of their overlord. The transfer of the inhabitants to the beneficiaries implies that their services, hitherto rendered to their master, were now transferred to the donees with all their previous obligations. The Korean pilgrim states that 'as in the Five Indies, no human being is sold; so there are no female slaves'. These lines are followed by a significant observation, namely that 'villages and their inhabitants could be donated if wanted and necessary'. Since inhabitants were transferred and bound to serve the beneficiaries as they had served the donors, there was hardly any need of additional man power to cultivate their fields or to attend to their personal comfort. The beneficiaries were assured of their services but what is very significant is that there were no female slaves. It implies that previously a few male slaves could be purchased[157] along with female slaves but now the practice of purchasing the latter and employing them on their lands was strictly disallowed. But this seems to have made hardly any difference. The peasant was tied to the soil and the artisan to his occupation in the service of the landed beneficiaries. This contributed to the emergence of serfdom through the process of donation of land and its further fragmentation by gifting a portion of it away to some temple or monastery. The peasant enjoyed little mobility apparently because he was treated as belonging to a particular village of the king, the queen, the princes, chiefs and so on. He led a sub-human life and we come across depopulated villages.[158]

This Korean account establishes a significant link in the feudal society after the breakdown of slavery and before the emergence of serfdom by the middle of the eighth century. Kashmir must have experienced considerable lack of labour power, as a huge proportion of population was scattered over hills and dales. It seems that serfdom started in peripheral areas, in mountainous or backward regions where the primary occupation was tending the sheep or rearing a herd of cattle.

Marginal production from land in these areas could not attract people to agriculture and hence the land-grants gave the grantees the powers to enjoy the services of the inhabitants along with the donation of land to them. The land-grants make it clear that the rights of the state over the people were transferred to the donees.

The rich commoners alone seem to have been excluded from the privilege of making land grants. They had to find their own independent resources for the maintenance of a newly constructed temple. As the ministers were a part of the official hierarchy, they naturally maintained the shrines and maṭhas[159] built by them or their wives out of the land-grants received by them for their official services. It seems that since they made grants without the consent of the king, they were already in enjoyment of these lands for the services rendered to the state. Though a *Sabhāpati* is mentioned as receiving lakhs of *dīnāras*[160], there is no mention of other ministers receiving payments in cash which suggests that they were paid by land-grants. The *Kampanādhipati* and the *Rājasthānīya* were stationed in good *pradeśa* and their armies were maintained on villages.[161] They enjoyed the feudal titles of *rājān* (*abbr.* of *rājānaka*).[162] It may thus appear that the *viṣaya* or *pradeśa* had to bear the burben of the enjoyment of its governor by remunerating his forces. The civil servant Bhaṭṭa (*nṛpasevakabhaṭṭa*) lived in the cantonment or capital (*kaṭaka*) of the king. He had become the lord of the village close by to the cantonment or capital.[163]

The tendency to feudalise officers was stronger under the Kārkoṭas and the Loharas. Besides the *Sandhivigrahika* being invested with the title of *pañcamahāśabda*, the offices of *Tantrapati*, *Bṛhattantrapati*, *Kampaneśa*, *Dvārapati* and *Daṇḍanāyaka* were generally held by those who had the resources and ability to raise their own troops. This could hardly be possible without the enjoyment of land-assignments. Feudalisation of functionaries seems to have been a development of significant importance during this period. Even the district female governors bore the title of *rājñī*.[164] Military officers were given highest honours and certain privileges usually confined to officers like

Rājasthānīya. Candrarāja, the son of Jindurāja and the grandson of Madanarāja (both *Kampanādhipati*), was invested with the garland of office (*adhikārasraj*) by Harṣa.[165] This shows that secular assignments for military services were as important as religious recipients in view of the defence requirements in Kashmir.

In the post-Utpala period characterised by chronic warfare, military grants seem to have been made on a large scale. With the waning of the royal power, fiefs became hereditary and the burden of local defence was taken up by an increasing number of local chiefs.[166] In view of a state of insecurity owing to the weakness and inability of the king to protect each and every person, Medhātithi justifies private and local arrangement for protection by taking to arms.[167] Though there is no clear evidence of any contract of dependence by which the people obligated themselves to render services to the chief in return for protection, it is possible that the chronic warfare during the Loharas forced the small peasants to surrender the ownership of their land and become a tenant of the resourceful chief on condition of paying a rent in services and goods.[168]

Thus certain broad features of feudalism are noticeable during our period: the increase of religious intermediaries in land together with the institution of *akṣayinī* (permanent endowment) and *avicchinasattra*[169] (permanent hospices) to feed brāhmaṇas, the surrender of fiscal and criminal administration to the religious beneficiaries, land grants to scholars who expounded the religious scriptures, officers of the crown and soldiers serving in the army, feudalisation of the titles of officials, the imposition of clan chiefs on settled villages, the right of subinfeudation, imposition of non-customary taxes and forced labour etc.

Feudalism is a whole socio-economic formation and 'the parcelling out of sovereignty among a host of petty princes, or even lords of villages'[170] is a part of it. The landed beneficiaries appropriated the surplus produce of the peasant by exercising superior rights over their land and person. And despite the presence of a central authority superimposed on the multitude of landed beneficiaries and petty local chiefs, feudalism coincided with a profound weakening of the state. The state lost precious fiscal resources, and further weakened by internal discords, could not effectively maintain the social structure based on the concept of *dharma*.

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6. *RT* II. 55.
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12. *RT* IV 187 sqq.
13. *Ibid*. IV 187, 190.
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16. *Ibid*. V 403, 442.
17. *Ibid*. VI 89.
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21. *Ibid*. VII 182-185.
22. *Ibid*. VII 952.
23. *KSS* XII. 15.3.
24. *RT* VII 121; *Vikram*. XVIII 24.
25. *Vikram*. XVIII 24, 40-46.
26. *RT* VII 608.
27. *RT* 526.
28. *Ibid*. VII 1093 sqq; 1344 sqq.
29. *Ibid*. VIII 2395, 2443.
30. cf. *LP*; *RT*, 2395.

31. Supra, ch. III p. 206.
32. cf. *udraṅga*, p. 407; *RT* V 168.
33. 935; for *abhyantara-siddhikāh*, see *CII* IV, no. 31, 1.41 and Mirashi's interpretation on it; *CII* IV, 154 fn. 1.
34. *RT* VII 1082. The richly endowed temple of *Bhīmakeśava* was locked up for a long time following a quarrel among the *pāriṣadyas* in the reign of Harṣa; VI 87-88. King Yaśaskara bestowed the royal insignia upon a brāhmaṇa to secure the royal dignity for his future births (Ibid VI 85-86).
35. *RT* VI 85-88.
36. *RT* VIII 898-908.
37. Vogel: Plate XVII p. 164; Plate XXIV, 11. 20-23; Plate XXVI 11. 10-19.
38. *Ibid*. Plate XVII, *l*,. 19; cf. *RT* VIII 551.
39. Vogel, Plate XVII, 1. 19; cf. *RT* VIII 551.
40. *Ibid*;. 23.
41. *Ibid*. 11 24-25.
42. *Ibid*. 1. 26; cf. *LP* p. 69.
43. *LP* pp. 68-69.
44. Vogel, XVII 1. 18. The expression here seems to refer to "fines", i.e. forced contributions of money or supplies imposed by the king's servants when halting at or starting from a village.
45. *RT* VI, 117, 261; IV 489; VII 601; *LP* pp. 2, 58, 63; *Narm*. *passim*; *Śriv*. I. 70; Vogel: Plote XXV 11. 13-15; Plate XXVI 11 6-10.
46. *Deśopadeśa* VIII. I and II; III 46-53; I 97 sqq.
47. *RT* V 172.
48. *Ibid*. VII 1088.
49. *IA* XII, pp. 190 ff. Plate II, 11 1-24.
50. *EI* XXIX, no. 1, B 1. 42.
51. *RT* V 174.
52. *Ibid*. V 172-174; Infra, ch. IX pp. 418-420.
53. *Ibid*. VII 1081-1088.
54. *Ibid*. VII 1088.
55. *RT* VIII 2509-2513.
56. *Ibid*. V 23-24; *Kuṭṭ* 930-936, 960.

57. *Ibid.* IV 9 ff.
58. *Ibid.* IV 9; VIII 2419-2422, 3354; IV 12.
59. *Ibid.* III 376; *LP* pp. 67-68.
60. *Ibid.* pp. 67-70.
61. *RT* IV 639 sqq; II 132.
62. *LP*, p. 70.
63. *Ibid.* p. 14; *RT* II 132.
64. *Narm* I. 85.
65. *LP* p. 14.
66. *Narm.* I 90.
67. *RT.* VIII 2408.
68. *Ibid.* V 397-99, 403. For the rapacity of *bhūrjabhaṭṭa* (Record-keepers) and *bhaṭṭas* see *Narm.* II. 133 sqq; *paṭṭopādhyāyas* were the recorders of *śāsanas.*
69. *Narm.* II 133-145.
70. *RT* V 48 sqq.
71. *LP* p. 62-64.
72. *KSS* III. 18. 124-126; Tawney's tr. Vol. II.. p. 59. IX. 3. 72-73; 190-193: he became like an absentee vassal chief and his associates began to oppress and ruin the villages like malignant planets.
73. *KSS* III. 18. 124-126; IX. 3. 72-73; 190-193.
74. *LP* pp. 1, 8.
75. *RT* VII 91.
76. *KSS* XVIII. 5. 60-80.
77. *Kuṭṭ* 738 (*parimita-āpta-parivāra*).
78. *Ibid.* 1005 (ed, Sūryakānta).
79. 929 sqq.
80. *RT* IV 496.
81. *Kuṭṭ* 931, 937.
82. Watters, I, pp. 176-77.
83. *Kuṭṭ* 939.
84. *Kuṭṭ* 736.
85. p. 17.
86. p. 937.
87. *Kuṭṭ* 928-940.
88. *Ibid.* 931. The nucleus of the European manorial system of land tenure was the manor to which were attached a

number of peasants' holdings. Within a manor the landlord reserved a small portion of land for his own use, while the rest of the land was distributed among his dependent peasants.

89. *Ibid.* 935, J.W. Hall: 'Comparative Studies in Society and History', Oct. 1962, p. 34.
90. *Kuṭṭ.* 935; J.W. Hall: 'Comparative Studies in Society and History', Oct. 1962, p. 34.
91. *RT* V 21.
92. *Ibid.* VII and VIII *passim*, *Vikram* XVIII. 47, 67.
93. *Ibid.* VI 335 sqq; VII 140 sqq, etc. Utkarṣa, on Kalaśa's death (A.D. 1089), ruled over Kashmir and united with his new kingdom the territory of Lohara (*RT* VII 703 sqq). After the death of Harṣa the rule over Kashmir and Lohara was again divided (*RT* VIII 8) by Uccala who ruled over Kashmir and crowned his brother Sussala as an independent ruler of Lohara.
94. *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* XXX, 19, XXXIV, 10; lxxii.4.
95. *Feudal Society*, pp. 446.
96. See ante, *Kuṭṭa.* 933.
97. *RT* VIII 547-548, 554. The description of a *Deśaṭhakkura* collecting a large number of chiefs (*bhūpās*) to fight the lord of Vallāpura confirms the evidence of sub-infeudation.
98. *LP* pp. 47-49.
99. *Ibid.* p. 26; cf. *EI*, ii, no. 27, 11 6-7. It is held that the term *avalagā* or *olaga* is of Kannaḍa origin and means military service to or attendance on one's lord. (Summaries of Papers, Silver Jubilee Session of the Indian History Congress, Poona, 1963, p. 15).
100. Infra, ch. IX pp. 402 ff.
101. *RT* V 175.
102. See *ante*.
103. *RT* V. 176.
104. II. 15.
105. *Kuṭṭ* 60, 737; *LP*, pp. 59 ff.
106. *LP* p. 64; Jon.; *Śrīv.* 2.136. 62-64; *RT*.

The dress of the feudal lords (*nrpasevakabhaṭṭa*) son shows how the villagers must have been exploited by them (*Kuṭṭ.* 62-67). He carries a sword and is accompanied by five or six retainers (*Ibid* 69).

107. *Deśopadeśa.* 5.9; *Narm.*1.47; 51-61.
108. *IA* XIV p. 319. *rājasevakānām vasatidaṇḍaprayāṇadaṇḍau*) these are mentioned in a Yādava grant.
109. *RT* V 184 sqq.
110. *Kuṭṭ* 537 (ed. Suryakānta); *RT* IV. 712; cf. *AŚ* IV.13 for *grāmasvāmi.*
111. *Parihāsas* I and II.
112. *RT* VIII 212: Bhoja is shown secretly going to his own *maṇḍala* (country) and neighbouring chiefs are shown granting presents etc. to false pretenders.
113. *RT* IV 712.
114. See supra, ch. VI, pp. 288 ff.
115. *RT* V 249 sqq.
116. *Ibid.* V 289 sqq; VII. 1513.
117. *RT* V and VII *passim.*
118. *Ibid* V 342, 446; VI, 91, 132; VII 135 etc.; According to Vaidya (*History of Mediaeval Hindu India*) Sāmantas generally waited upon the king, were his kinsmen or relatives who were territorial lords or sub-kings in their own territories (Vaidya, pp. 152-53).
119. *RT* VI 1604.
120. *Ibid.* VI 90-91.
121. Stein, Vol. I, p. 219, v. 249 n.
122. *RT* VI 132.
123. M.G.S. Narayanan "Companions of Honour with Special Reference to South India," *Journal of Indian History*, Golden Jubilee volume (Trivandrum, 1973, p, 190).
124. *RT* VIII 1093.
125. VII 115-120; *KSS* XII.1.33 A noble brāhmaṇa Sūradatta enjoyed hundred villages.
126. *Ibid.*
127. *RT* VIII 1624, 1005, 3124.
128. *RT* VIII 2941.
129. pp. 62-64.
130. cf. *AS* II. 1, 35.

131. *RT* VI 73; VII 996, 1178, 1227, 1231; VIII 1228, 1814, 2029.
132. *Ibid.* VII 1178-79, 1227 sqq.
133. Supra, ch. III, p. 151.
Ānanda started his career as a *paripālaka* (*RT* IV 194), the administrator of temple property at Parihasapura, Later he rose to the position of the *pādāgra* and then became a *maṇḍalesa* (*RT* VII 993-995, 1178) under Harṣa.
134. Here the term *maṇḍala* has been used loosely to denote an area smaller than the country in which sense the term has been adopted throughout the *Rajataraṅgiṇī*.
135. *RT* VII 1321, 1374.
136. *Ibid.* VIII 548, 554.
137. *Ibid.* VIII 102.
138. *Ibid.* VIII 510, 507.
139. Vogel, Introduction; also see *Epi. Ind.* I, p. 101.
140. *LP*, p. 15.
141. *IA*, XV, 7-8; XVIII, pp. 134 ff.
142. *RT* VI 117.
143. *Ibid.* VI 260-261.
144. cf. *Epi. Indi.* vol. I, pp. 97-118. In the Kāvī copper plate grant the word Rājā is immediately followed by *Sāmanta* which is synonymous with *rājānaka*. (see also *Ind. Ant.* vol. V, pp. 114 ff.); Vogel, pp. 120-121; in Camba inscriptions *rājā* followed by *rājānaka*: 1. 14 of *CPI* Plate XXV, pp. 187 ff.
145. *RT* IV 140, 512, 680. For different interpretations of *pañcamahāśabda* see *IBBRAS*, Vol. I, 1925, pp. 238 ff; EI, XIII No. 28, p. 299; IA IV, p. 105.
146. *RT* IV 512.
147. *Ibid.* IV 689-691.
148. *Ibid.* 692 sqq.
149. *Ibid.* IV 512.
150. *RT* IV 140-143.
151. Bhattācarya, *JBBRAS*, N.S., Vol. VII (1931).
152. Aiyangar, *JBBRAS*, N.S., Vol. I, 25.
153. *RT* VI 285, 200-203, 205, 209.
154. *Ibid.* VI 169.

155. *Ibid.* VI 175; VII 1276, 1281; VIII 1466.
156. Jan Yun-Hua, "Hui Chao's Record on Kashmir", *Kashmir Research Biannual*, no. 2(1962), pp. 119-120.
157. *AKL* XVII. 14.
158. Kṣemendra, *AKL* XVII. 14; XXIV. 94-96.
159. See *ante*; *RT* VIII 2422, 2414-2426; V 37-38.
160. *RT* IV 495; V 33-36.
161. *LP*, pp. 62-63.
162. See above.
163. *Kuṭṭ* 59-80; cf. *CII* IV, p. 389 uses *kaṭaka* in the sense of the capital and not in the sense of a cantonment (see Kaḥla plates of Kālacuri Sodhadeva, 1. 29).
164. *LP*, pp. 62-63.
165. *RT* VII 1363 sqq, 265, 365; *Śrīk.* III 50; *RT* VIII 1624, 1982-84. These references also suggest that sometimes the office of the *Kampana* could be held by the same family in succession. Verse 1362 of the eighth *taraṅga* also shows that all the ministers of the king functioned as army-commanders.
166. *Ibid.* VIII 2518; *LP*, p. 58.
167. Medhātithi on *Manu* VIII, 348.
168. Marc Bloch in the *ESS*, Vol. 6, pp. 203-205.
169. *RT* I 347; II 58; VIII 571; *Ind. Ant.* IX, p. 167.
170. *Feudal Society*, p. XVIII.

7

Army

WHY WAR?

Love for war is not decried but is considered an attribute of a king. He is praised equally for his qualities of mercy and forbearance, and his martial qualities as a great warrior and the hero of many battles, overcoming powerful enemies by means of his physical prowess.[1] He extends his territory, maintains the balance of *maṇḍala* and employing a specific array (*sarvatobhadra*) holds his enemy in check.[2] Though the texts of the period connected with Kashmir do not enumerate the factors leading to wars we may note those mentioned in the *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra*.[3] Efforts for conquest (*vijayodyama*) were motivated by the desire to keep the people free from fear.[4] We have many instances of battles fought for the preservation of *dharma*. A king's *digvijaya* was inspired as much by the desire for territorial aggressions as the need for fulfilment of the concept of *dharma*.[5] The Kārkoṭa and Lohara rulers fought against the Arabs and the Turks not only for the preservation of their territory but also of their faith and temples. Lalitāditya's victory

(C. A.D. 631) over the Turks was observed as a festival till late in the eleventh century.[6] Ananta's victories over the Darads and other neighbouring chiefs are mentioned as being over '*mlecchas*'.[7] Wars seem to have been fought for saving the oppressed, collecting riches, protecting the *dharma* and seizing women.[8]

Ratnākara says that a king before starting hostilities should thoroughly plan from the beginning to the end and recommends the adoption of *nīti* in inter-state relationship.[9]

FOURFOLD DIVISION OF THE ARMY

Both the *Nīlamata Purāṇa* and Ratnākara refer to the traditional fourfold division of the army (*caturaṅgabala*)[10] consisting of elephants, cavalry, chariots and infantry (*hastyaśvarathapatti*). At another place Ratnākara mentions these in order of infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants.[11]

INFANTRY

The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* speaks of the Tantrin foot-soldiers (*tantripadātīnām*) the armed Ekāṅgas, and the armed villagers including the caṇḍālas, peasants and Brāhmaṇas, that constituted the infantry (*patti* or *padāti*).[12] The importance of the infantry is borne out by the fact that the huge number of foot-soldiers of Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1128-49) is described as covering the earth in such a manner as if forming an alliance with the sky.[13] During our period of study the foot-soldiers accounted for a major part of the army, The Tantrins and Ekāṅgas who formed the hereditary armies were heroes of choice valour and influenced the affairs of the court and state.[14] The foot-soldiers could be employed in all places and could manoeuvre the enemy out of their strong position. Hsuan Tsang tells us that the mobility of the foot-soldiers contributes to the defence of the kingdom.[15] The infantry must have been kept in order because of the regular efforts they had to make in view of the difficult nature of the valley encircled by a chain of mountains. The Ekāṅgas functioned as military guards to protect the Accounts office (*Akṣapaṭala*).[16] Harṣa in the hour of extreme distress was advised to collect a force of Ekāṅgas in the vicinity of the *Akṣapaṭala* office, and arrange it in battle array along with mounted soldiers.[17]

The efficiency of the infantry is indicated by the remarkable service it rendered to the wounded and disabled soldiers by bandaging their wounds, administering medicines and removing the arrow-heads.[18] The infantry served also as a non-combatant Commissariat Corps of today. The chief of foot-soldiers was known as *Narapati*.[19]

A striking feature of the Kashmira infantry was the employment of a class of cultivators who normally followed the profession of agriculture but carried on the military profession also as and when required. They are mentioned as the *Gṛhadhānuṣka* and the *Sthāvaradhānuṣka*, and were well known for their skill in archery. They may be compared with *Śreṇibalam*',[20] referred to in the *Arthaśāstra* and other texts.

Our impression from different sources is that women did not fight in the army, although courtesans helped in holding the army together (*senāstambhanam*).[21] There is, however, a reference to Garga's wife Chuḍḍā who with her own and king's troops defeated her enemies.[22] The burden of military duties did not fall on the Kṣatriyas alone; the cultivators and Brāhmaṇas also took up the sword.[23]

CAVALRY

The *Nītikalpataru*[24] devotes one section to the enumeration of good and bad qualities of horse, their movements, and diseases and in another section lists the general qualities of the *Aśvādhyakṣa*. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* shows the important position of the *asvaghāsakāyasthas*, one of whom, (Durlabhavardhana) could found the Kārkoṭa dynasty.[25] Kṣemendra follows the *Aśvacikitsita* of Nakula and Śālihotra in its account of the horses and borrows a number of verses from Bhoja's *Yuktikalpataru*.[26]

Kings possessed many types of conveyances (*yāna*); of these horses were the most useful.[27] A long-necked, broadchested, soft-maned. solid-hoofed, horse possessing short ears, lips and tail, well-built and free from all defects was considered to be good for military duties.[28] According to Śālihotra, an armoured horse, neighing with its mouth raised upward and touching the ground with its fore-hoofs was to be used for war.[29] A horse with its yellow lustre, white foot, and white eyes is termed as *Cakravāka*. It was considered to be of a good quality fit to be possessed by a king.[30] But a horse that urinates, throws out faeces and bleeds frequently was not to be used.[31] A horse whose lock of hair curls backwards near the root of the ear or in its middle, brings to its master victory and glory in war; if one or three lacks of hair curl backwards near its shoulders, its owner becomes a king *cakravartī* and prosperous.[32] Kṣemendra has quoted seventy-six verses from different sources, describing the varieties of horses and their auspicious signs which indicate good luck to the king possessing them [33] The authorities quoted by Kṣemendra describe other varieties also which bring bad luck and are to be avoided. Cavalry was the chief limb of the army promoting the strength and stability of the state. The swiftness of the cavalry was valued as the most important factor contributing to the mobility of an army.[34]

The cavalry is called *hayasenā* and the rider *hayāroha*.[35] The commander of the mounted soldiers was known as *hayasenāpati* or *hayapati*.[36] One who commanded ten thousand (*ayuta*) horses and one thousand men was known as the lord of horses (*Aśvapati*).[37] It seems that this title was given to feudatories who enjoyed an important place in military organisation. The *Lokaprakāśa* speaks of a Veterinary doctor, a specialist in horse diseases and of an expert in the science of horses and cows.[38] It further lists various breeds of horses and their stables.[39] The horse trainers (*aśvaśālīya*) received largesses from kings. It appears that they purchased horses for state and maintained them.[40] The state monopoly of horse-dealing and elephants is mentioned by Al-Bīrūnī according to whom no person could own a riding-animal or elephant.[41]

The Kārkoṭas seem to have maintained the finest park of cavalry. Jayāpīḍa was proud of the fact that he had gifted away ninetynine thousand, nine hundred and ninety-nine swift horses to the Brāhmaṇas at Prayāga.[42] Horses were imported from Kāmboja (eastern Afghanistan), and Central Asia (Balkh and Badakhshān).[43] The close relation with Gandhāra provided an excellent opportunity for procuring horses for the army.[44]

It seems that a select breed of horses was imported from Khotan in Yārkand in the north and then was made to inter-breed locally to produce a good stock.[45] The *Gauḍavaho* makes a special reference to the horses of the Himalayan region.[46] The rulers of Kashmir were very keen to enrich their army with the best breed of horses and the import of such horses must have cost the state exchequer much.[47] Sculptured columns of the extent temples and bas-reliefs in Verīnag (Kashmir) show that cavalry, particularly soldiers bearing daggers and riding armour-clad horses, occupied an important place in the organisation of the army.[48] From the *Gauḍavaho* we learn that the horses wore on their bodies ornamental decorations (*āyāṇa*) inlaid with emeralds and they gave out a mass of green shade.[49] These must have been used by commanders and princes.

The *Lokaprakāśa* speaks of the following duties of a mounted soldier and a foot-soldier: to reconnoitre the forest roads, to protect transport and supply, to chase the soldiers of the enemy, and to accompany the revenue officials at the time of the harvesting season.[50] The cavalry had the two important functions of fighting the enemy and ensuring the safe collection of income from land. It is clear from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that the stability of a ruler depended upon the superiority of his cavalry. The topography of Kashmir demanded a high reliance of the rulers on this wing of the army and explains the importance of cavalry from very early times. Chakravarti's view that the cavalry never came to occupy the front rank in the army organisation of ancient India[51] is ill informed. Literary[52] and archaeological evidence alike confirms our contention. The account of battles in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* shows that cavalry occupied a high importance in military organisation.

The *Nītikalpataru* contains two sections on archery. It gives the specifications of the arrow and the bow.[53] A king was required to worship both the bow and the arrow at the time of the coronation anniversary (*saṁvatsarābhiṣeka*).[54] The mounted soldiers carried weapons, bows and arrows.[55] The art of mounted archery was in regular use in this period.[56] Bhikṣu drew up his horse-archers in 'three different battle arrays to shoot arrows at king Sussala. Kalhaṇa gives a vivid description of this fierce combat in which the king had a narrow escape.[57] Chakravarti's remark that there is scarcely a reference to Indian horse-archers in post-Gupta times is disproved by the account of the siege of Srīnagar in the reign of Sussala (A.D. 1112-20).[58] Pandit correctly observes that 'the twelfth century was pre-eminently the century of the knight and the steed, both rider and mount being protected by armour in Kasmīr as in other lands'.[59]

ELEPHANTS

One section of the *Nītikalpataru* is devoted to the description of elephants and their characteristics. Parāśara, Mārkaṇḍeya and Bhārgava are cited as writers on *Hastilakṣaṇa* and *Hastiśikṣā*. A very short elephant with uneven width brings glory to a king; an accomplished elephant but without teeth called the teethless elephant (*matkuṇa*) can be deadly on the battle field.[60] An elephant without a *kapāla* and a huge tusk brings defeat to its owner king.[61] Kṣemendra further relates the inauspicious signs of an elephant, first referring to the nature of his tusks.[62] Elephants are described as the guardian deities of different quarters.[63]

Elephants were not simply of decorative value; they were considered to be one of the most important limbs of the army.[64] Mihirkula, Lalitāditya, Jayāpīḍa, Śaṁkaravarman, and Harṣa maintained a huge elephant corps.[65]

One who commanded one *a-yuta* of *akṣauhiṇī* was called the lord of elephants (*gajapati*).[66]

Armour-clad elephants fought in battles.[67] Elephants were used for transport of heavy armour. The foot-soldiers and horsemen of the army were sometimes routed by a panic-stricken, hostile elephant.[68] But such occasions were very rare. Lalitāditya's *digvijaya* may be ascribed to the use of cavalry and elephants both.[69] Elephants maintained their military value in our period, though they failed to be much effective in the plains against the Arab and Turkish archers.[70] Like the Rāṣṭrakūṭa, Pāla and Pratihāra kings, the rulers of Kashmir had a huge elephant corps.

A knowledge of the science of elephants (*pīluśāstra*) was considered very important for destroying the enemy's elephants.

A charioteer was considered to be successful if he was an expert in the knowledge of elephants as well.

The areas which were the main source for the supply of elephants were Kaliṅga, Gauḍa (Bengal), Vindhya Pradeśa and Assam. The Himālayan belt too provided elephants.[71]

CHARIOTS

Ratnākara and Kṣemendra mention elephants, cavalry, chariots and infantry.[72] But they seem to refer to the conventional composition of the army, though chariots did not find a place in actual practice. The *Gauḍavaho* of Vākapati is characteristically silent about the war chariots of Yaśovarman[73] in his war with Lalitāditya.[74] Further, it is argued, there is no reference to any officer in charge of chariots.[75] Altekar[76] Dikṣhitar[77] and Chakravarti[78] are of the opinion that chariots went into disuse from the eighth century onwards and were partially subordinated to elephants and horses.

The chariots in Kashmir were adapted to local needs of physiography. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* speaks of *Karṇīrathas* used in warfare.[79] According to Stein they were a type of palankens used by noblemen.[80] As Kalhaṇa mentions their number as being round about a lakh and a quarter at the time of Lalitāditya's *digvijaya* and eighty-thousand at the time of Śaṁkaravarman, it is unlikely that they were used by noblemen. The formation of the word by joining *karṇin* and *ratha* suggests that these were a special class of chariots fitted with bows the strings of which were stretched close to the ear for shooting arrows, having the ear as their point of origin. There are references to kings killed in battle as they fought mounted on such chariots.[81] These references belonging to the tenth century suggest that they had not disappeared from the military system. On the basis of the association of archers with *Karṇīrathas* we can suggest that the frequent references to archers in different battles and internal uprisings, indicate that the *karṇīrathas* were in use even during the reign of Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1128-1149) when warriors are said to have used darts, spears and arrows in honest contests.[82] There were *pālkīs* (*manuṣyavāhyam*) to carry wounded princes from the battlefield.[83] But they are not to be confused with *Karṇirathās* which were specifically used in combats by those highly skilled in the art of archery.

The great charioteers (*mahāratha*) and the charioteers (*rathī*) list the constituent of a division of the army, comprising forty-five foot, twenty-seven horse, nine chariots and nine elephants.[84] All this suggests that the chariots were in use, though they differed from the traditional type with which we are familiar.

NAVY

We do not hear of any naval officer similar to the *navādhyakṣa* of the Mauryas or *naukādhyakṣa* of the Pālas. But an account of the siege of Śiraḥśilā Castle standing on the confluence of the Sindhu and the streams of the Madhumati and the Muktaśrī indicates that a few naval battles were fought where rivers were navigable for certain distances. Enemy's access to the water of the rivers was checked by boats constantly plying about on the river both from the north and west of the castle. This operation was undertaken by the forces of Jayasiṁha to circumvent the plans of the pretenders allied with the Ḍāmaras against the king.[85] It appears that the use of the navy was confined only to those regions where small boats plied along the river. They were used for cutting off the supplies of the enemy without any involvement in big operations. Such forces operated in those navigable rivers which were close to the hill fortresses. Boats were used to suppress the internal uprisings by cutting off the lines of supply of the pretenders to the throne. Occasionally the naval warfare decided the issue of the war. Sujji built a bridge of boats and himself crossing the river in a raft completely routed the enemy.[86]

RECRUITMENT OF THE ARMY

Political theorists have recognized recruitment of six kinds of troops: hereditary soldiers (*maula*), mercenaries (*bhṛtā*), guild-levies (*śreṇi*), soldiers supplied by the allies (*suhṛd balam*), soldiers captured in war (*dviṣat*) and forest tribes (*āṭavika*).[87] Kauṭilya favours the hereditary army which is always obedient, trustworthy, contented and consists mainly of *Kṣatriyas*.[88]

Kalhaṇa, like Kauṭilya, seems to have favoured the hereditary army. The armies of Lalitāditya, Jayāpīḍa and Śaṁkaravarman seem to have been mainly constituted of the hereditary soldiers.[89] From the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* we learn that people from the Brāhmaṇa to the Ḍomba could follow the profession of arms.[90] The second important element in the army was the feudatory troops or soldiers supplied by the allies (*suhṛda*). The system of mercenary soldiers appears to have been widely prevalent in our period.[91] Mercenary troops were recruited by raising loans from the rich people [92] But the practice of recruiting mercenaries was not approved as it was believed that it caused demoralization in the regiments.[93] A large number of villagers and forest dwellers (*grāmyāṭavikamaṇḍala*) increased the size of the army.[94] The forest tribes of Kirātas and Śabris lived in cantonments near foothills.[95] The armed personnel was not enlisted from one single district [96] Archers, sling-throwers, and dart-throwers were recruited from different regions. The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* says that the people of the mountainous region are expert in archery, the hilly tribes skilled in fighting with slings and stones; and the Kambojas and Gāndharīs are expert horsemen.[97] This is fully supported by the account given in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. The chronicle also says that kings recruited soldiers from Rājaputāna, Sind, Punjāb, Magadha and also from amongst the Yavanas and the Turuṣkas.[98] The kings recruited Yavana soldiers also. King Harṣa took Turuṣka troop leaders.[99]

The kings of Kashmir maintained a fairly large standing army.[100] According to Kalhaṇa the army of Lalitāditya had one lac and a quarter of *Karṇīrathas*.[101] Śaṁkaravarmana had nine lacs of soldiers, three hundred elephants and a lac of horses.[102] Harsa's army had eighteen divisions including the feudatory levies.[103] The army was organized on a decimal system. The war experts define an army as consisting of ten crore of soldiers and ten thousand of conveyances. And the king who commands them is called the *senādhipati*[104] which means that the supreme command of the army was vested in the *rājā*. Somadeva too confirms the decimal system of the army organisation. In the *Kathāsaritsāgara* the army of the enemy is shown consisting of 30,000 elephants, 3,00,000 cavalry and

1,00,000 infantry against the 10,000 elephants, 1,00,000 cavalry and 20,00,000 infantry to the king.[105] In foreign adventurers from the hill country to the south of Kashmir, viz. Parnotsa, Rājapurī, and Baddivāsa (Parnotsa) or Budil were known for their fighting qualities and some of their leaders, true condottiere, rose to great power.[106] There is reason to believe that conditions were not much different in the earlier centuries and the number of soldiers maintained was fairly large. Though no exact record of the strength of the army is available, it possibly varied considerably from period to period. It is likely that the huge figures mentioned in our texts are exaggerated but Basham justifies such figures by pointing out that the Rājā of Vijayanagar in the sixteenth century moved over seven lacs of soldiers and 550 elephants against his Bahmani rivals.[107] It may be noted that with diminished resources the rulers of the first and the second Lohara dynasty could not have maintained a vast army like that of the Kārkoṭas. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, however, makes it clear that this was a feudal militia, mustered only in times of war.[108] This is fully borne out by Books VII and VIII of the chronicle.[109] The terms *Vāhinī*,[110] *Viśāla Vāhinī*, *Trailokya krānti* and *Sāmarthya* do not indicate the actual strength of the army which seems to have been fairly large because of the *śastropajīvīs*.[111] Even Lalitāditya's forces appear to have been very meagre against Śalya (most probably the ruler of China) who was equipped with eight lacs of cavalry.[112]

The texts on polity do not forbid the recruitment of soldiers from the two lower castes. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* speaks of *caṇḍāla* watchmen (*Yāmika*) in the army and mentions one Śrīdeva, a village caṇḍāla, who accompanied the villagers in the battle against Jajja, the usurper of the throne of Jayāpīḍa. He joined as an auxiliary of the king.[113] The Ḍāmaras, sneeringly called Desyus by Kalhaṇa, participated in the wars of succession on behalf of the legitimate king or the pretenders to the throne. The Lāvanyas, another para-military tribe also played a similar role.[114] Rājaputras and Kṣatriyas no doubt enjoyed predominance in the army.[115] We have also numerous instances of Khaśas joining the army. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and the works of Kṣemendra show a liberal attitude towards castes other than the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas and refer to persons of the lower strata of society as performing military duties.[116] This was possibly necessitated by the frequent inter-state wars, the threat of Arabs and the Turks on the borders and the wars of succession.

Literary evidence shows that brāhmaṇas served as soldiers and some of them were appointed to high commands in the army.[117] There was a distinct class of brāhmaṇas called *sāmantabhaṭṭa* who served in the army.[118] A brāhmaṇa army was in no way inferior to the army of Vaiśyas and Śūdras.[119] Thus the profession of arms was not closed to the castes other than Kṣatriyas. We learn from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that the Brāhmaṇas who fought for their kings, were brave, self disciplined, well-built and devoted to their master and their Dharma and actuated by a feeling of loyalty towards their state. They were experts in military manouvres and distinguished themselves as superior to the Rājputs in military service.[120] The command of the army was held by persons of great physical prowess and strategists and by Brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas alike. The Brāmaṇa commander Yaśodhara defeated the Śāhi Thakkana.[121] Madana was the supreme commander under both Kalaśa and Harṣa.

The Rājaputras formed a large section of the army and bore distinctive marks. Saṁgrāmarāja, Uccala, Sussala, and Jayasiṁha seem to have been particularly attracted by their martial vigour and loyalty.[122] Like the Swiss guards during the French Revolution they braved all hazards in serving the king.

PAYMENT OF SOLDIERS

Soldiers seem to have been often paid in cash.[123] They were gratified with honours and prizes also.[124] They were paid travelling allowances or *Bhatta*[125] for their long stay away from the capital. The Ekāṅga foot-soldiers were relieved of their dependence on the Akṣapaṭala office and land-assignment of a permanent nature equivalent to ninety-six crores of Dīnāras was made in their favour.[126] Compensation to soldiers in the event of their being wounded in the battle seems to have been a practice peculiar to Kashmir.[127] In the *Arthaśāstra* Kauṭilya considers withholding of soldiers' pay as one of the primary causes that bred discontent and trouble in the army.[128] A grievance of a similar nature possibly prompted the Ekāṅgas to force the king to pay them in cash a fixed pay against the income of certain villages commutable independently of the Akṣapaṭala office.[129] The soldiers seems to have been equally concerned about the payment of marching allowances (*pravāsadhana*) the delay in which often caused embarrassment to a king.[130] However, our sources do not indicate the rate of pay given to soldiers.

According to Hsüan Tsang ministers and common officials all had their portions of land and were maintained by the lands assigned to them.[131] From the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* we learn that the ministers enjoyed land-assignments in return for their services to the state.[132] The *Lokaprakāśa* refers to such military fiefs.[133] Kings took every care to ensure regular payment to soldiers and army commanders. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* tells us that the expenditure by kings for the men under arms was huge, comprising allowances for the campaign, grace payments and donations for medicines. In some cases the expenses for military campaigns were met out of the funds of the holy shrines.[134] Lalitāditya, on the eve of this *digvijaya*, took one crore of *dīnāras* from the shrine of Śiva Bhuteśa. The gold reserves of shrines[135] and the revenue from villages attached to them were also used for fitting some of the expenditions.

ARMS AND ARMOUR

A number of weapons were used in war some of which came down from the times of the *Mahābhārata* and the Vedic texts. There are frequent references to the use of the bow and arrows.[136] In the science of archery the *Nītikalpataru* describes the manufacture of bows, arrows, strings etc. and the methods of training in archery.[137] Kalhaṇa gives many interesting details of battles and civil strifes in which the use of bows occurs prominently. In archery the Dāmaras possessed special skill.[138] From the same source we learn that cross-bows too were used (*kodaṇḍa*, *yantra*).[139] The word *yantra* is of very ancient usage, dating back to the *Ṛgveda* where it occurs in the sense of 'any instrument for holding or restraining or fastening, a prop, support, barrier etc.[140] Stones were discharged from slings which in their fatal effect are said to have resembled the mythical *vajra*.[141] The sword was another very common weapon of war. It is likened to the Kauśeya Rākṣasa who is active in dark frontnight and is the sucker of enemy's blood.[142] We come across four kinds of swords, long-sword, dagger, kaṭār and short-sword.[143] Swords with golden handles were probably used by kings and high army officers.[144] A short-sword was commonly used by kings and soldiers.[145] Javelins and lances were used by warriors.[146]

The *Lokaprakāśa* mentions the archers, bows, arrows, strings etc. in detail. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* also refers to the common use of swords, spears bows and arrows.[147] The different kinds of bows and their manufacturing techniques have not been described at length, presumably because of swords and bows were so commonly used that it was not thought necessary to give details. Bows were made of metals, horn, wood, and of iron and horn mixed.[148] The *Haravijaya* confirms the use of the horns of the deer in manufacturing bows.[149] Archers are said to have performed high feats of archery. The troops, possibly mounted archers of a prince are said to have carried bows with arrow tips of flaming fire, burning houses on their march,[150] Arrows possibly smeared in easily burning oil and setting ablaze their targets, seem to have been mistaken for fire weapons[151] (*āgneyāstra*). It is, however, clear that the use of flaming shafts was known to the Hindus.[152] The least two books of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* refer to *pṛtanāyantra*[153] which Stein takes to be the war-engines or war-machines while Pandit interprets them as military machines. The real nature of this mechanism is not known but possibly they were contrivances for hurling stones at the enemy. There are earlier references to the use of slings for discharging stones.[154] It is not unlikely that machines on a larger scale were used for the same purpose, especially in forts. The assailants were repulsed with a shower of stones with these machines.[155] The *Agni Purāṇa* also refers to their use.[156]

Javelin, battle-axe and danger were other common weapons of war.[157] The *Haravijaya* mentions many other weapons: *Śūla* (a sharp iron spike used as a piking spear), *cakra* (discus or quoit), *bhujadaṇḍa* (arm-staff), *nārāca* (iron-made arrows), *agnimukha* (weapon with a fire-shaped mouth), *iṛmbhāstra*[158] (a weapon, especially a bow).

The *Lokaprakāśa* has a long list of weapons: *dhanuṣka* (a small bow), *kodaṇḍa* (an eye-brow shaped bow), *cāpam* (the bow), *śarah* (an arrow), *patatriṇa* (a kind of arrow with a point of a particular shape), *mārgaṇa* (an arrow), *khaḍga* (a sword), *karavāla* (a kind of sword), *saunandah* (a club), *kheṭaka* (a shield), *tūṇīmukha* (the cavity of a quiver), *triśūla* (trident), *śakti* (a spear or javelin), *tomara* (the lance), *mudgara* (a heavy tapering club), *bhiṇḍipāla* (a short javelin thrown by the hand), *paraśu* (the axe used both as a wood-cutting implement and a weapon of war), *gadā* (a club or mace), *paṭṭiśa* (probably a spear), *kuntaka* (a projectile weapon of the order of śūlas and paṭṭsas), *mukharika* (some resembling weapon).[159]

In the outfit of war were included linen cloth, shields, swords, horses, golden, vessels, armour of steel, helmets, visors.[160] The cavalier-soldiers or horsemen carried a buckler, a javelin and a short-sword. They wore a chain armour and helmet. The leather cuirass of the cavalry was popular and reminds us of the Golden Horde of Chingiz Khan. It appears that nails and arms of steel were used in fighting in a single combat.[161] Armour clad horsemen played a prominent part in these combats and were very numerous.[162]

The *Haravijaya* says that the *kuliśa* was a sort of fire weapon resembling a thunderbolt.[163] Other weapons were a *kārmuka* (a bow) and *ānaka* (a large military drum beaten at one end.

Armour was worn at the time of going to the battle.[164] Armour of gold, encrusted with precious stones[165] (*tanutra*) was perhaps worn by military commanders. These were usually surrounded by a network of iron. *Kaṇṭhatra*[166] was used for protecting the neck. Its precise nature is not described, but possibily it was a metallic sheet covering the neck. Spears (*kunta-lata*) and short swords (*īlī*) were used.[167] Warriors wore some kind of helmet of metal to protect the head called *śirastrāṇa*. It seems that both *kaṇṭhatra* and *śirastrāṇa*, studded with precious stones, were worn to protect their necks and heads from the friction of the bow-string. The armour of steel (*lohakavaca*) was made of sheets of different colours resembling a beautiful rainbow.[168] The garland of *jayamaṅgala* was prepared with intestines.[169] This suggests that the warrior wearing this was spurred into action by a faith that when he would be victorious he would remove the bowels of his enemy and prepare a garland of victory with that.

Though the nature of all the weapons used in war cannot be easily determined, it is certain that there existed a number of weapons to counteract the effects of the deadly weapons. The divine nature of some of the weapons mentioned in the *Haravijaya* points out how it was believed that the darkness spread by some divine weapons could be removed by the use of a flashing weapon, the intensity of heat lessened by some cooling weapon. The weapon discharging stones could be neutralised by the use of a shaft-hole axe, the weapon of Nāgas fought with that of the Garuḍas. But these weapons were mythical in nature.

MARCH OF THE ARMY

It is not certain if in undertaking a march, the king was swayed by archaeological calculations about an auspicious occasion. The frequent internal disturbances and the sporadic troubles of the feudatories must have disturbed the timing of expeditions. Sujji and Trilochanapala undertook expeditions in the month of Vaiśākha and Mārgaśīrṣa which possibly were considered proper season for undertaking an invasion.[170] As Kashmir had a preponderance of infantry and strong cavalry, spring and autumn were the most suitable seasons.[171] The reasons for choosing these seasons are attributed by the *Mahābhārata* and Kāmandaka to the climatic conditions of India.[172] The topographical peculiarities also received due consideration in view of the mountainous terrain.[173]

The prognostications of dreams, omens and portents also influenced the choice of the time for an expedition. Kalhaṇa tells us how Uccala became confident of victory over Harṣa when he saw someone marching in front of him carrying a dead hare.[174] As he was entering Varāhamūla a mare bearing auspicious marks which came running towards him from the hostile force was secured by him as if she were the royal prosperity.[175]

And from the head of the image of Mahāvarāha a garland fell on his head; which was interpreted as bestowed by the Earth resting on the shoulder of that god to choose him as the bridegroom.[176] Uccala and Sussala are said to have gone into swift action under the prophesy of an augur who declared them destined to obtain the crown.[177] Somadeva also speaks of a rain of flowers, playing of musical instruments by gods and an auspicious breeze at the time of the march by a king destined to be victorious.[178] But in the case of a king who was to court disaster on the battlefield Somadeva says that he found his standard struck by lightning, vultures hovering overhead, the great *chhatras* breaking down and jackals uttering inauspicious notes.[179] Prince Vijayamalla marched against Utkarṣa with his enthusiasm redoubled by good omens, but the commandant of the cavalry slackened his speed owing to evil portents.[180] It seems that in commencing battles auspicious asteral signs were taken into account.

The march (*yātrā*) of the army was at once colourful and spectacular. Auspicious rites were performed at the time of the king's march. The princes, accompanied by their troops and feudal chiefs, marched on their expedition after women performed auspicious ceremonies to ensure their success. At the time of their return the king was greeted with auspicious songs.[181] Various musical instruments were played upon during the course of the fighting and also at the time of the march of the army. These included a large millitary drum beaten at one end (*ānakadundubhi*), perforated conch-shell serving as a trumpet (*turīśankha*)[182] in battles.

The Svapākas turned in large numbers with their beating drums amidst shouts of victory and good wishes. Groups of Lāvanyas also marched with their drums.[183] Unlike other parts of India, Kashmir seems to have enjoyed a remarkable laxity both in social life and military warfare and even the low-born played an important role in military engagements.[184] Sometimes Chief Queens also accompanied the king and were stationed in the centre of the field of battle.[185] Ministers of high rank, *Yuvarāja* and capable Suprintendent of kitchens too participated in it.[186] Tributary chiefs too followed the king.[187] The king himself rode his charger in the centre of the ranks of his horsemen with drawn swords.[188] Thousands of torch-bearers occupied the rear of the army.[189] Shouts of victory (*jayaghoṣa*) by the marching soldiers infused them with the spirit of bravery and frightened the enemy.[190] The advancing army stayed in improvised camps during the night which were burnt when the soldiers advanced to another camp.[191] All round the camp the soldiers kept awake with flares with which it was lit up. The illuminating blaze of the flare of torches helped in detecting the movements of the enemy besides providing protection to the army.[192] We learn from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that all the facilities for the royal camps were provided by the villagers. Bands of mechanics, wood-cutters and other workmen set up houses for the marching troops.[193] Cocoanut wine was served to the marching soldiers to remove their fatigue.[194] Wine was used to boost the courage and make the soldiers vigorous enough to snap the very best among the warriors.[195] A mobile treasury went a long way to boost up the morale of the marching soldiers.[196] This was possibly in accordance with the *Arthaśāstra* view that withholding of soldier's pay is one of the primary causes that breed discountent and trouble in the army.[197] The army on the march presented a spectacle of a gorgeous procession with banners some of them studded with jewels, unfurled, small flags fastened with ropes, standards displayed and musical galore.[198]

BATTLE-ARRAYS

The commanders of the armies formed battle-arrays suited to different situations.[199] The principle behind their formation was to deploy the best and the largest number of troops to meet the danger of the enemy. The divisions of the army were arranged in different shapes after various objects or limbs of the animal. The *Lokaprakāśa* describes six types of arrays, such as *cakra* (circular array of troops), *sṛṅga* (a particular military array in the form of a horn or crescent), *śāli* (an array like the seedlings of paddy arranged in a row), *sūcī* (a military array in which according to Kulluka the sharpest and most active soldiers are placed in the front), *padma* (an array arrayed in the form of lotus), *saṅskāra*[200] (probably refers to a well formed array).

Some armies adopted the *ardhacandra* (crescent shaped array) type.[201]

The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* mentions divisions in the battle-field. Uccala moved along an army in its eighteenfold division.[202] Bhikṣu favoured the construction of three arrays.[203] Considering the mountainous terrain of Kashmir, it seems that Bhikṣu must have adopted *varāha-vyūha* (boar array), *a-saṃhatavyūha* (loose-array), *ākheta-vyūha* (hunting-array), to strike hard and make his charge on the enemy more effective. The various arrays Bhikṣu proved so deadly that at one time king Sussala was on the point of losing his life in the face of the horse archer's flying arrows aimed at his body.

Although Stein takes the eighteenfold division of the army as conventional, it seems that Candrarāja's army was fairly large as it consisted mostly of the recruits from different places on his way to Vijayakṣetra. This is also supported by the *Agnipurāṇa*,[204] which mentions seventeen divisions of the army. Of course, each division must not have been as large as the one constituted in modern warfare.

The size of the army as outlined by Kṣemendra may be studied in a tabular form:[205]

Unit	*Chariot*	*Elephant*	*Horse*	*Foot-soldier*	
patti	1	1	3	5	The smallest division of an army
senāmukha	3/9	3/9	9/27	15/45	A division or company of an army
gulmagaṇa	9	9	27	45	A division of an army
vāhinī	81	81	243	405	A particular division of an army
pṛtanā	243	243	729	1215	A small army or division =3 vāhinīs
camū	729	729	2187	3645	A division of an army
anīkinī	2187	2187	6561	10935	Three camūs
akṣauhiṇī	21870	21870	65610	109350	Ten anīkinīs

STRATEGY AND METHODS WAR

The graphic details with which Kalhaṇa describes a number of sieges and expeditions in his own time or in earlier periods clearly shows that the importance of military strategy was appreciated. Kalhaṇa gives vivid description of planning operations in war, especially the movement of armies and boats into favourable positions for fighting, the considerations of topography and the skill in managing long sieges. He provides technical details of even minor operations, marches battles and sieges and adds his own comments on the soundness of strategies. He lays great emphasis on timely preparations, night watches, the posting of scouts, military exercises and thorough preparations for an attack.[206] Trilocanapāla of the Hindu Śāhiya dynasty is reported to have criticised his ally, Tuṅga, for not understanding the strategy of Turuṣka warfare and not taking his position on the scarp of a hill.[207] Intrepedity, presence of mind, strength, skilful use of contrivances and calmness in times of extreme danger are qualities demanded of a military commander.[208] A small but well-disciplined force was preferred over a large unorganised mass of soldiers. Movement of troops was sometimes delayed owing to the oppressive heat of Āṣāḍha and bad fevers with their malignant effect on the soldiers. Routes through difficult tracks were followed to mount a surprise attack on the enemy. Burning arrows were used to cause confusion in the ranks of the enemy.[209] Desertions in the army, treachery of the commanders and the disaffection of the subsubjects were considered to be fatal.[210] Loyal and united subjects and a full treasury were considered helpful in gaining success.[211]

These factors are well illustrated in the siege of Srinagar and the siege of Rājapuri, the one leading to the retirement of Sussala to Lohara and the other to the remarkable victory of Kandarpa.[212] In the siege of Śiraḥśilā castle the 'Lord of the Gaṭe' Udaya intercepted the line of communication for the pretenders by posting himself at the *draṅga* (watch-station). Dhanya, the royal commander stored the cantonment (*kaṭaka*) with all the essential supplies, built rows of wooden huts on the bank of the river Madhumatī, put up a continuous line of block houses, cut the supply line of the enemy and then invested the fortress. At night fires were kept burning to watch the movement of enemy, troops and boats were kept constantly playing about on the river from the north and west of the castle to prevent enemy's access to the water of the rivers. And the whole operation was undertaken in winter to stop provisions reaching the enemy.[213] The king was asked to remain at a distance of one march from the fort, sending his feudatory chiefs in advance.[214] This was probably meant to secure the person of the king from whose presence the soldiers and commanders were to draw their inspiration.

Sometimes submission was feigned till the final contest would come.[215] At the opportune time Trillaka sent forth his enemies in all directions like a porcupine throwing the arrow-like quills from its own sides.[216]

Kalhaṇa refers to the adoption of guerrila warfare as the most effective tactics in mountainous regions and forests. The royal camp was harried and leading Tāntrins slain as a result of surprise attacks carried night after night.[217] Pṛthvīhara is said to have routed the royal army by emerging from a mountain ridge where he had lain in wait concealed by trees.[218] Incendiary fires, hurling of boulders and making breaches were used to overpower the enemy.[219] Pitched battles and dwelling bouts are also referred to.[220] According to Kalhaṇa an offensive against the enemy was to be organised in the following way: mobilization in time, maintaining vigilance at night, tactfully handling the troops during opportune times for occupying positions, withdrawals and the various strategic plans, and not yielding terrain which had been won.[221]

ETHICS OF WAR

Our sources repeat the *Smṛti* principles about the ethics of war. Envoys enjoyed certain immunities, one of these was that this person was not to be violated.[222] No warfare was to take place during night.[223] Even villagers participated in just war.[224] Prisoners of war were generously treated and were given all comforts worthy of their position.[225] Fleeing soldiers were not to be killed.[226] Soldiers wounded in war were to be nursed.[227] A very significant feature was the cremation of soldiers killed in battle, a practice that did not obtain in other parts of India.[228] The *Smṛti* concept of soldiers fallen in battle being received by celestial maidens and the disaffected troops being punished for their vile treason by the deities of war enjoyed sanctity in our period.[229] It was believed that the goddess of victory embraces the victorious soldier[230] and Brāhmaṇas who fall fighting attain the position of heroes.[231]

It seems that the principles of *dharmayudha* were not always followed. All methods of warfare, fair or foul, were applied if one did not enjoy superiority over the opponents.[232] The enemy played a ruse to induce kings to enter unidentified regions from where there was no chance of a safe return.[233] Sometimes troops were deployed for battle in the evening for sudden attacks.[234] Prisoners of war were kept in prisons with fetters on or[235] were used as slaves.[236] Naked women were left in the enemy camps to distract their attention.[237] Kalhaṇa condemns the surprise attacks on the killing of women and in battle.[238] There are references to the burning down of towns, villages and other places.[239] During the course of the march of the army poisonous and deleterious substances were used in trees, creepers, ponds, grass etc. Girls supposed to cause the death of a man were detailed (*viṣakanyās*) who had inter-course with them. They came in the form of disguised market courtesans and spies. To counteract these corrective antidotes were used and many women trying to enter the camp were killed.[240] This reminds us of the Kauṭilyan strategy of war, recommending fair or foul means of warfare.

FORTS

The forts played an important part in the defence scheme of ancient Kashmir.[241] The *Arthaśāstra*, the *Matsya Purāṇa* and *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* regard the hill fortress as the best on account of its impregnability.[242] This is borne out by the description of the hill forts in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. The *Mānasollāsa* too considers the riverine fort along with the hill fort as the best of nine types of forts.[243] Some of the cities were also fortified, hence the term *pura* was sometimes used in the sense of a rampart or fort or strong-hold made of stone with palisades.[244]

Forts were not simply places of refuge.[245] The hill castle, Lohkot (Lohara) was often subjected to long sieges and on many occasions served as the centre for important expeditions against invaders or pretenders to the throne. The forts also served as the treasure-vaults of the king.[246] The fortress of Lohara, on account of its impregnability, frustrated the attempts of Mahmud to conquer Kashmir.[247] Till recently such hill forts were garrisoned by *Killahdārs* (the descendants of *koṭapadaī* or *koṭabhṛtya*) kept in small detachments.[248] The siege of Dugdhaghāta in the struggle against Darads reveals the importance of a hill fort.[249] The gates of a fort were kept closed.[250] The use of the terms *pṛithvi* or broad and *ūrvī* ('wide fort') indicates that there were two kinds of forts.[251] The Pṛthivīgiri fort which was besieged in the time of Harṣa was one type of fort which was properly garrisoned and stocked with food and other supplies.[252] Ferishta refers to a hill fort called Kalunjar on the frontier of Kashmir where Mahmud of Ghazni imprisoned his Vazir, Khwāja Ahmad.[253]

WATCH-STATIONS (DRANGA)
(*dvāras*)

The main passes leading into Kashmir were specially guarded by watch-stations and the high officials associated with their defence bore the titles of *dvārādhipati*, *dvāreśa* or *dvārādhikārin*.[254] Maṅkha calls the fortified watch-stations as *rakṣāsthāna* (places of defence).[255] Indigenous sources and foreign travellers refer to the system of guarding frontier passes and watch-stations (*dvāras* and *draṅgas*).[256] The chain of mountains surrounding Kashmir played a decisive role in its defence. The *dvāra* or the watch-stations received their names from the mountain ridge.[257] Ou Kong informs us that the Pīr Pantsal Route was always closed and was opened only when an imperial army honoured it with a visit.[258] The *Vāchaspati Kośā*[259] takes *Udraṅga*, *nivesha* and *draṅga* in the sense of a larger city as compared to *Kavata*. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, however, does not support this interpretation. A few watch-stations were no doubt established on the road-side[260] and were used for the collection of customs duties and police administration, but generally they were dotted on the narrow contracted passes and provided with a drum-station (*ḍhakkam*), as at Śūrapura.[261] They were furnished with tanks or snow-reservoirs for the use of the garrison as at Dugdhaghāta Pass.[262] Thus *draṅgas* were primarily military observation posts equipped with a large drum to sound alarm. They were also meant to receive emissaries[263] across the border.

Local tradition relates that these *draṅgas* existed in the form of stone-walls and gates, the remnants of which still lie scattered close to the construction-sites today. Ancient coins to frequently found in the Śūrapura *ḍhakka* indicate the commercial importance of these watch-stations. Under the *dvārādhipatis* (the lords of gates), a hierarchy of military officers were charged with the defence of the watch-stations (*draṅga* or *ḍhakka*). The *draṅgādhipās* (masters of the watch stations) guarded the approaches to the valley.[264] Kalhaṇa is conscious of the natural defence of Kashmir reinforced by the *draṅgas*. He says that land may be conquered by spiritual merit but it can never be subdued by physical prowess.[265] The training received in the *draṅgas* was of paramount importance and a warrior familiar with the nature and functioning of the watch-stations could even aspire to and assure for his sons and grandsons high offices in the State.[266] According to Kalhaṇa and the author of the *Nīlamata*[267] the danger to which Kashmir was exposed did not come so much from its natural frontiers as from the dissensions between rival groups to which the state was subjected during his life time.

REFERENCES

1. *Hara* XXXII 79-80, 86; Sarga 41.33 sqq; *Vikram.* XVIII 90, 38.
2. *Ibid.* XII. 30, 53. The army was drawn up in the order of *Sarvatobhadra* where dangers from all quarters were apprehended. Cf. *Agni.* 242. 7-18.
3. *KNS* X 136-137; *Agni* 240.14-18.

4. *RT* III 28; I 115-117; *Vikram.* III passim.
5. *Ibid.* 27; VII 167; *KSS* 17.5, 10-12.
6. *Alberuni* Vol. II, p. 178.
7. *Vikram.* XVIII 34,
8. *KSS* 17.5.10-12.
9. *Hara.* XII, XIII, XXXIX *passim.*
10. *Hara.* III 50; XI 33; Sarga 49. 114; *NP* 6,981. 983, 1367 (Vreese); *LP* p. 61.
11. *Ibid.* XII 9.
12. *RT* V 248-49; IV 475-76; VIII 2515, 2518, 1383; V 218-219; V 342-46; VI 91, 132; VII 135, 1604, V 289; VI 244; VII 498; VIII 932, 2815-16 etc.; *Kuṭṭ* 929; *LP* p. 64.
13. *Ibid.* VIII 3203, 1683.
14. *RT* V *passim*; VII *passim*; V 328 (VII 134-135).
15. Beal, *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 139.
16. *RT* VII 155-162, 1604, 1609, IV 691, V 301.
17. *Ibid.* VII 1605; cf. *NKT.* 6.67: foot-soldiers are to function as military guards to protect the treasury, the armoury stores of food supply and help in the formation of battle array.
18. *Ibid.* VIII 740-41; cf. *Agni* 236.44-45, 242.27.
19. *LP* p. 2.
20. *Ibid.* p. 63. *Śreṇī balam* has been interpreted differently by scholars. Shamasastry takes it as the corporation of soldiers, Bhandarkar as a tribal band of mercenaries and Majumdar as a class of guilds with military profession (*AS.* IX.2; Chakravarti, *loc. cit.* p. 5; *Corporate Life*, pp. 24-25).
21. *Samaya* II. 96.
22. *RT* VIII 1136-1138.
23. *Ibid.* VII 2518.
24. *NKT* 98, 120.
25. *RT* III 489.
26. *NKT* 98.
27. VIII 1285-86. King Sussala was passionately devoted to horses. He sent his Chamberlain to cure his most favourite horse called *mandurācakravartin.*
28. *NKT* 98. 1-2.

29. *Ibid. loc. cit.* 98.13.
30. *Ibid. loc. cit.* 98.22.
31. *Ibid. loc. cit.* 98.14.
32. *Ibid. loc. cit.* 98.37-38; *RT* VIII 731.
33. Also see *Gauḍavaho* 255-262 ff.
34. *NKT* 98.48-49; *RT* VII 1309-10.
35. *RT* VII 155, 766; VIII 1481.
36. *Ibid.* VII 766-769: *LP* p. 2.
37. *LP* IV p. 59.
38. *Ibid.* p. 4.
39. *Ibid.* pp. 11-12.
40. *RT.* VII 188, 198; *LP* p. 11.
41. Alberūni, Vol. I, p. 206.
42. *RT* IV 415-417.
43. *Ibid* IV 165-166; *Vikram.* VIII. 93; Majumdar: *EHNI*, p. 50; *Raghu.* IV. 70; cf. *Mbh.* Sabha 53.5; Sauptika Udyoga 13.2; 86.6; Lalitāditya defeated the Kamboja kings and exacted a tribute of horses from them.
44. *Rāma.* 1217.
45. *LP* p. 11; *RT* VII 1333.
46. Gaūḍavaho 260-261; Chakravarti, *loc. cit.*, p. 39.
47. *RT* V 143-144; Śaṁkaravarman's army had one lakh of horsemen; VIII 1094; *RT* IV 265, 415; VII 394, 403, 910, 1512-14; VII 9, 73, 199, 941.
48. *Ibid.* VII 910-1241, 1360, 1335. The Ḍāmaras, mostly comprising foot-soldiers, were afraid of Harsa's fine park of cavalry. They were swift on their feet but a poor match before the trained horsemen. *LP* p. 64; *RT* VIII 728.
49. 258.
50. *LP* p. 64.
51. Cakravartī *AWAI*, p. 36.
52. *RT* VII 371, 1360; VIII 1094.
53. *NKT* 103-104; *LP* p. 5.
54. *Ibid.* 103.6; 104.19.
55. *RT* VIII 736, 743, 792, 855.
56. *Ibid.* VIII 735-737.
57. *RT* VIII 1197.
58. *Ibid.* VII 735-737.

59. Pandit: *River of Kings*. App.-H, p. 612.
60. *NKT*, *loc. cit.* 97A 18-19.
61. *Ibid. loc. cit.* 23.
62. *Ibid.* 30 sqq.
63. *Hara.* XXXI 30.
64. *Hara.* V, 45, 75, *passim.*
65. *RT* I 302-303; V 137-147, VII 1553-1555.
66. *LP* 2.59.
67. *RT* VII 1553; VIII 9; V 143-144; IV 147-149.
68. *Ibid.* VII 155′-1555.
69. *Ibid.* IV 147 sqq.
70. *RT* VIII 2524; *AWAI* pp. 50-51.
71. *RT* II 147-148.
72. Supra p. 316.
73. *Gauḍavaho.* 255 ff. mention the horses on the march and the elephants of the king's army; Yasovarman's account of conquests in verse 417 ff too is silent about chariots. The king's army is shown to consist of infantry, cavalry and elephants.
74. *RT* IV 140; Chakravarti, op. cit., p. 21.
75. Majumdar, *HBI*, p, 279.
76. *Raṣtrakūtas*, p. 248.
77. *WAI*, p. 166 (Macmillan, 1944).
78. *AWAI*, pp. 25-27.
79. *RT* IV 407; V 219.
80. *Ibid.* IV 407 n.
81. Supra; cf. *Śrīv.* 1.7.221, 231.
82. *RT* VIII 2293-2294. The subsequent chronicles of Jonarāja, Śrīvara and Śuka show that *Karṇirathas* were still in existence, though their use might have changed. The later *Rājataraṅgiṇīs* show them being used for mounting the dead body of a king.
83. *Ibid.* 2298.
84. *LP* p. 5, *Hara.* XXIV 2, 15; XXIII 14; I 36; Sarga 49.27.
85. *RT* VIII 2505 sqq.
86. *RT* VIII 1497-1504.
87. *AŚ* 9.2; *KNS* 19.3. According to *Sabhā Parva* the army consisted of four limbs: hereditary (maula), mercenary (bhṛta), soldiers supplied by the allies (*suhṛd balam*) and

forest tribes (atavī)—(*Sabhā* 5.63). The *Yuddhakaṇḍa* refers to five, ommitting the *Sreṇi* troops. (*Yuddha.* 17.24).

88. *AŚ* 6 1.
89. *RT* IV 407, V 137; *Ain-i-Akbarī* Vol. II, pp. 385-386.
90. *Supra.*
91. *RT* VIII 885-887.
92. *Ibid.* VII 367-68; 1464-66.
93. *Ibid.* VII 1466.
94. *Ibid.* IV 474; According to Mānasollāsa the *aṭavī-bala*, consisting of persons living in the mountainous country, *Niṣādas* and *mlecchas* was the worst type of troops.
95. *Hara.* Sarga 41.16; V 43, 49.
96. *RT* IV 349-352.
97. II 177.40-43.
98. *RT* VII 1149, 1501; VIII 887, 1868, 2264. Lalitāditya preferred to recruit hardy hill tribes of the frontier along with the local volunteers. His imperial army was a composite force of experienced warriors; Gāndhāras, Tukhāras, Bhauṭa refugees and the followers of Śāhī princes. After the conquest of the Panjāb he recruited the tribal volunteers (the ancestors of the Ghakkars and the sturdy Jāts of the Panjāb) as footmen and auxiliaries (*RT* IV 147 sqq.).
99. *RT* VIII 2264; VII 1149.
100. *Tse-fu yu-kuei*, ch. 999, p. 19a-b; *loc.cit. JIH* (Golden Jubilee Volume), 1973, p. 95.
101. Supra. p. 326.
102. *RT* V 137, 143-144.
103. *Ibid.* VII 1512-14; *Amar* II 8, 79, 81 (for the definition of 'a division').
104. *LP* p. 61.
105. IX.4.218-219.
106. *RT* VI 333 sqq; VII 7 sqq.
107. *The Hist. of the Vijayanagar Empire*, Vol. I M.H. Rama and Sharma, Bombay Popular Prakashan (1978); *JIH.* XXXVI, (3), 1958, pp. 379-396.
108. *RT* VIII 1083-1086.
109. *Ibid.* VIII 1083-1086.
110. *Ibid.* IV 134; *Mahābala* and *Vāhinī pūrva* sāgaram too are vague.

111. *RT* VII 1430.
112. *Ibid.* IV 475-78; VIII 2172; *AWAI*, p. 82.
113. *Ibid.* VII & VIII passim.
114. *Ibid.* VIII 1394. The recruitment of the Kāyasthas as the commanding officers of the troops shows how civilians too did very well in warfare (*RT* VIII 664, 473; VII 1319).
115. *Ibid.* VI 318, VII 13-14, 47, 84.
116. *Ibid.* VIII 664, 473; VII 1319.
117. *RT* IV 137-138, 391; VIII 1071-1073.
118. *LP* p. 1.
119. *AŚ* p. 2 Kauṭilya observes that a Brāhmaṇa may be won over by the enemy.
120. *RT* VIII 1071; VII and VIII passim.
121. *Ibid.* VII 154 sqq.
1.2. *RT* VIII 1328; VII 48; VIII 323, 1082, 1133, 1394, 1841, 3124, 1325, 1327.
123. *Ibid.* VIII 803, 809, 741.
124. *Ibid.* VIII 2514.
125. *Ibid.* VII 1156; VIII 808, 2516, 741.
126. *Ibid.* VII 163.
127. *Ibid* VII 162.
128. *AS* 8.5.
129. *RT* VII 161-162.
130. *RT* VII 1457-1458; V 338-40; 294.
131. Beal, *op. cit.* 1, p. 87.
132. *RT* VIII 2741.
133. *LP* pp. 62-63; *RT* VIII 741.
134. *Ibid.* IV 189-190.
135. *Ibid.* VII 1506.
136. *Hara* I, 3 ; XXIII 14; XXIV 2, 15; Sarga 49, 27.
137. Supra. 103-104.
138. *RT* VII and VIII passim (VIII 25, 2824).
139. *Ibid* V 104. *Agni Purāṇa* mentions three kinds of bows (249.35-37; 245.5-6). For the making of a bow and its effective use, see Arrian, *Indika* Ch. XVI; *WAI*, Dikshitar, p. 95.
140. Cf. *MW*, S.V.
141. *Kuṭṭ* 558; *RT* IV 478.

142. *RT* VI 248-49; VIII 346; *Hara* X, XII, XIII passim.
143. Plate XX Pandit: *The River of Kings*. These were perhaps manufactured in Kṣurikābala near Srinagar (*RT* III 347).
144. *RT* VIII 2825.
145. *Ibid.* VII 1702; VIII 29, 526, 1310, 2325. *Kṣurika*, according to Bohtlingk and Roth is a knife. It is also referred to by Kṣemendra. It is curious to note that the *Milindapanho* refers to five weapons of war in order of their importance—the arrows, the javelins, the spear, the sabre (*maṇḍalagga*) and the daggar (*Milinda.* V 19). All of these are mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.
146. *RT* VIII 2293-2294.
147. *Ibid.* VIII 1760-1771, 2146, 2530-31.
148. Cf. *Agni* 245.4, 7-8; Dikshitar: *WAI*, p. 95.
149. *Hara.* 39.10.
150. *RT* VII 766-769. *Hara.* also refers to the use of *danus* and *tūnīryasṭhi* in the *Deva-asura* conflict (*Hara.* 24.2,15; 23.14; 1.36; 49-27); *RT* VII 1550, 983; VIII 2293-94.
151. *RT* VII 983-984; *Mbh.* 3.234.7.
152. Cf. *Manu* VII 90; *Mbh.* 5.19.4; 4.55.23.
153. *Ibid.* VIII 2558; Stein Vol. II, 201; Pandit, *River of kings*, VIII 2558.
154. *Ibid.* IV 475-77. Discharge of a stone from a *vajra* like weapon killed a courtesan (*Kuṭṭ* 558) and *yashta vajra* probably refers to Jayāpīḍa's Syalak, Jajja who was killed by the sling of a Domba.
155. *RT* VIII 2530-2531, 1677, 1685-86, Yantras installed in fortresses for throwing stones seem to have been in use since the period of the epics, see *Mbh.* Sabha 5-36; *Santi* 69.45; *Rama. Sundara* 62-64.
156. 252.5-27.
157. *RT* VIII 1505. 1760-1771, 2530-31, 2146, 312, 313, 346, 3234, *passim*.
158. *Hara.* 10.46; 23.18; 7.34-43; 16.70.
159. *LP*, p. 5.
160. *RT* VII 1193-94, 1374, 62; VIII 283, 1325; V 343 etc.
161. *Ibid.* VIII 3311.
162. *RT* VII 62; VIII 728.
163. 15.53, 58.

164. 15.39.
165. 40.18, 12, 13, 19.
166. 40.15.
167. 42-43; 41-55.
168. *Hara*. 49.38.
169. *Ibid*. 14.45.
170. Perhaps the dark fifth of Vaiśākha was considered auspicious for starting on a campaign (*RT* VII 1297).
171. Cf. Lakṣmidhara: *Rājadharmākanda*, *loc. cit*. Rāy Ch. on *Yātrā*.
172. *Śānti*. 100.11; *Udyoga* 142.16-17; *KNS* 15.7.
173. *RT* VIII 2505 sqq. The siege of Sirahśilā castle was undertaken in winter when the Dāmara's food-supplies were cut off and he was obliged to surrender two of the pretenders.
174. *RT* VII 1291; cf. *NKT* 135.8-22 for omens that guided a king.
175. *RT* VII 1309.
176. *Ibid*. VII 1310.
177. *Ibid*. VII 1183-1184.
178. *KSS* 17.3.11.
179. *KSS* 17.3.2-4.
180. *RT* VII 766-769; cf. Ray, pp. 118-22.
181. *Hara*. 40.11; *KSS* 7.8.83; 2.6.17.
182. *Ibid*. 47.154; 31.31; 49.42.
183. *RT* VII 735-737, 1080-81, 1538; IV 129; VI 246.
184. *Ibid*. VIII 526; V 218; Candāla watchmen (*Yāmika*) played an important role in the expedition of kings (*RT* VIII 2172).
185. *Ibid*. V 219-226; *KSS* 3.5.71.
186. *Ibid*. VIII 1841, 3124; VII 48, 1480.
187. *Ibid*. VII 48; V 140.
188. *Ibid*. VIII 947-953.
189. *Ibid*. VIII 1405.
190. *Ibid*. V 141.
191. *Ibid*. VIII 2638-2639.
192. *Ibid*. VIII 2580-82.
193. *RT* VIII 2509-2510; Stein Vol. II, p. 197 fn; Pandit's footnote.

194. *Ibid.* IV 155.
195. *RT* VIII 759; cf. *NKT* 6.51.
196. *Ibid.* IV 589.
197. *AŚ* VIII.5.
198. *Hara* 2.58; 49.9; 41.56. This practice is as old as the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya.
199. *RT* VIII 3121.
200. Prakāsa I, p. 11; *Mbh.* 1.2754; vii, 1471; vi, 2413; Kull. on *Manu* VII, 187.
201. *KSS* VIII.7.1-3.
202. *RT* VII 1371, 1513; Stein takes this to be a conventional number.
203. *Ibid.* VIII 1197.
204. 242.60-72.
205. *LP* p. 59.
206. *RT* VII 49-51; VIII 1071, 1345, 2115-2116.
207. *Ibid.* VII 70.
208. *Ibid.* VII 985.
209. *RT* VII 966 sqq.
210. *Ibid.* VIII 729 sqq.
211. *Ibid.* VII 990.
212. *Ibid.*
213. *RT* VIII 2505 sqq.
214. *Ibid.* VII 1180.
215. *Ibid.* VIII 2746.
216. *Ibid.* VIII 2747.
217. *Ibid.* VII 1182; VIII 597.
218. *Ibid.* VIII 712.
219. *Ibid.* VIII 1475.
220. *Ibid.* VIII 23-24.
221. *RT* VIII 2210-2211.
222. Supra Ch. III, p. 188.
223. *RT* VIII 738.
224. *Ibid.* IV 474-477.
225. *Ibid* VIII 611.
226. *NP*. 1177-1178.
227. Supra. p. 317.
228. *RT* VIII 513, 594.

229. *Ibid* I 64-69; *Hara.* 15.38; 42.7, 27, *RT* VI 247; VIII 1345.
230. *Hara.* 15.40.
231. *RT* VIII 1345.
232. cf. *AS* X. 3.
233. *RT* IV 277-293.
234. *Ibid.* VII 2203.
235. *Hara* 39.37; 41.45.
236. *Ibid.* 31.11.
237. *Hara.* 42.31.
238. *RT* VIII 1136-1138.
239. *Ibid.* VIII 2497.
240. *KSS* 3.5.80-85; see also *Mudrārākṣasa* for the description of a *viṣakānya.*
241. *RT* VII 1171 sqq. 2515 sqq.
242. *AŚ* II.3; *VDP.* 26.7; *Matwya* 216.7.
243. *Abhilāsi.* I.5.552-3.
244. *NP* 1018-19 (Ghai ed.); A king is described as going to his newly built city of Visvagasvapura to the west from the old city.
245. *NP* 1168 (Vreese ed.).
246. *RT* VIII 567.
247 *Tārikh-i-Firishta* (Briggs), Vol. I, pp. 54-55; *RT* VII 965; VIII 10, 1796, 2029; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* (Dey), p. 13.
248. *Jammoo Kash. Temor.* Drew p. 95; *RT* VIII 10.
249. *RT* VII 1171 sqq.
250. *Hara* 15.59.
251. cf. *Sbhilaṣitārthacintamaṇi*, I.2.544-552.
252. *RT* VII 1152 sqq.
253. *Tarikh-i-Firishta* (Briggs) Vol. I, pp. 89. 99; *RT* VII 1256; VIII 204, 618, 915.
254. *RT* VIII passim; *Jon.* 339, 342.
255. *Maṅkha* 574; S.V. *Gulma*, Vol. III, p. 196.
256. *NP* 869; *India*, I pp. 206 sqq.; cf. *Jon.* 654; *RT* I 122; IV 404; V 306 etc.
257. *RT* VIII 1997. The *Kārkoṭa draṅga*, for example, received its name from the mountain ridge now called Kakodar. Kramavarta (*Sūrapura*) watch-station fell on the route of the Pir Pantsal Range, forming the boundary of the valley,

to the south and south-west (*RT* I 302; III 227; cf. *Śrīv.* I 408).

258. Stein: Ancient Geography, *loc. cit,* Entra No. 2 Vol. LXVIII, Part I *JASB*, 1899.
259. V. p. 3775; *Śabda-kalpa-druma*, ii, p. 758; MW, S.V. *draṅga*.
260. *RT* VIII 1991.
261. *Ibid.* III, 227-228.
262. *Ibid.* VII 1175.
263. *Ibid.* III 227-228; IV 404-407; V 137.
264. *RT* VIII 1578; VII 1352; VIII 2507, 2702, 2803.
265. *Ibid.* I 39, 43.
266. *Narm.* 2.144.
267. *NP* 868-869 (Ghai ed.).

8

Inter-State Relations

IMPORTANCE OF NITI

No country can for ever live in splendid isolation, much less so could a state like Kashmir which was surrounded by a lofty chain of mountains. From very early times influences from China and Central Asia permeated into the social and political fabric of the valley which in its turn contributed to the spread of Buddhism in China, leaving its imprints on Central Asia too. Kashmir had political relations with her neighbours and cultural and commercial relations with the countries in the north and west.

The writers of our period were fully conscious of the situation of their land and alive to the need of defending the state from foreign invasion and internal dangers. They were aware of the developments on the borders of their state and the chaotic conditions following foreign invasions during the ninth to the eleventh century in India.[1] They know that the physical features of the land provided the best rampart for the protection of the State against dangers from the enemy or the malevolent influence of *Kali*.[2] Nevertheless, to them the armed forces alone could not secure the existence and stability of the State. Nor could the same policy be pursued towards friends and foes at all the times in all places.[3] According to the authors of the *nīti* texts a king has to adopt a suitable policy to maintain relations with other states. Ratnākara say that the fruits of the policy of a highly skilled ruler are juicy inside and round from without like the cocoanut fruits that are juicy and delicious within but dry from without.[4] It is the chain of *nīti* that stabilises the prosperity of the state (*rājyaśrī*) and its sovereignty.[5] When the king acts according to *nīti*, possesses stead-fast ministers and augments his treasury with the help of army (*daṇḍa*) the prosperity of his state is assured like the *kariṇī* of a lotus with *svadeśa* (*mūlam*) as its root and *koṣa* and *daṇḍa* as its parts.[6] But the prosperity of a king, says Ksemendra, is quickly destroyed by following a bad policy.[7] Dāmodaragupta advises the king to adopt several means (*upāyas*) and measures of policy (*guṇas*) to extend his dominions and to keep his enemies in check.[8] Jayānaka conceives of *nīti* as a woman with the beautiful limbs of political wisdom (*prajñā*), strength (*bala*), valour (*utsāha*), four *upāyas* for the attainment of success (*sidhyupāya*) and measures of policy (*guṇas*) aiming at the promotion of peace and prosperity in the state.[9] Kauṭilya also refers to the martial power and the power of deliberation which help in the state's prosperity and contribute to the decline of the enemy.[10] The importance of the combination of political wisdom and valour is, thus, underlined by all the texts on *nītiśāstra*. Jayānaka stresses the significance of these two for the economic and military prosperity of the state.[11] Ratnākara says that Lakṣmī causes unsteadiness when brought into contact with the waves of the ocean, but when accompanied by *nīti*, it becomes steady for the king.[12] In this period stress was laid more on the efficacy of *prajña* (intelligence) rather than on *parākrama* (valour).[13] The course of policy received considerable emphasis.[14] The path of *nīti* is dear to those who want to obtain Lakṣmī (material prosperity) for with its application neither the ocean is tormented by the churning of the Mandara Parvata nor are the *devās* and *asuras* put to the trouble of churning it.[15] Ratnākara holds that no ruler can avoid *Nītiśāstra*. It is full of the five *mantras* and possesses the excellence of *sāma* and *bheda*.[16] Nīti, based on *śaktiś* and *siddhīs*, was supplemented and supported by *upāyas* and *guṇās* for the all-round prosperity of the state.[17] According to Jayānaka, a minister, well-versed in these expedients, could bring sovereignty even to a minor king.[18] A king conversant with the four *upāyas*, the six *guṇās* and the five *mantras* is compared to a *ṛṣi* who is well-versed in the four Vedas, the sixfold duties of a Brāhmaṇa and the five constituents of fire. Virtually he is a *rājarṣi*.[19] There is no other accomplishment for a brave, vigorous and advertent king but that of *nīti*.[20] According to Ratnākara one who considers the means of his state and army and acts accordingly for the desired goal is rewarded with success and the result is never distasteful or bitter.[21]

THE MANDALA THEORY (*Circle of Kings*)

Ratnākara knew that war could not be altogether avoided and hence admitted the necessity of a judicious balance among the states based upon the well-known *maṇḍala* theory of the *Smṛti* and *Nīti* writers.[22] He says that the brush of *nīti* (*nītitūlikā*) serves the purpose of *maṇḍala*;[23] it is wonderful for without interrupting the smooth working of the *maṇḍala*, it contributes to territorial gain by righteous means and promotes the all round welfare of the kingdom. It takes into account the interest of one's *rāṣtra* (state) at the time of invasion and devises means to crush the enemy. The importance of *Nīti* is stressed in the formation of a *maṇḍala* with the help of the expedients of *tantrāvāpadikam* (the king desirous of conquest). The *vijigīṣu* following Kauṭilya was to plan his conquest in different ways according to the prevailing circumstances. When there is a regular *maṇḍala*, he is first to conquer the enemy, then to overcome the *madhyama* and finally subdue the *udāsīna*. In his scheme, the king was to consider how to augment his strength and overcome his enemies and then secure the allegiance of his allies.[24]

The *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* refers to threefold allies, *viz*. ally, friend of the ally; and friend of the ally's friend. Their alliance was to be secured to one's side. The text then mentions the threefold enemies—*viz*. enemy, enemy's friend, friend of enemy's friend who were to be conquered by all means.[25] Having adopted the policy of ancient *nīti*, supported by *upāyas* and *śaktīs*, a king could succeed in getting his hold over the twelve states contemplated in the *maṇḍala* theory.[26] The emphasis laid upon the formation of proper alliance[27] reminds us of the post-war development in Europe with the super-powers trying to bring within their sphere of influence as many states as possible. Allies were expected to suppress the enemy and obtain glory and honour for their friends.[28] Kings are advised to choose allies after careful consideration, taking into account their noble descent, martial spirit, knowledge of *śāstras*, capacity of tolerance and devotion to their masters.[29]

Kāshmir, being land-locked, must have introduced a few changes in this composite state-system, technically called *mondala* and consisting of an aggregate of twelve sovereign states which are bound by friendly, hostile as well as neutral relations with a central powerful state. The king desirous of conquest had to act wisely and not to employ the armed forces in achieving his aim. Kings solely dependent on the strength of arms are considered to be weak and those who depend on *Nīti* alone are not successful, but those who combine valour and *nīti* and act accordingly are regarded ideal rulers.[30] In the system necessary changes must have been introduced in accordance with the policy of the rulers and geopolitical conditions of Kasmira. But the standard type envisaged by them conformed to the *maṇḍala* of twelve kings.[31]

Rājānaka Alaka in the commentary part of verse 38 of the twelfth Sarga of the *Haravijaya* explains the *Maṇḍala* (the circle of kings) thus :

> A neighbouring prince is the *ari* (foe) of the king. Beyond him fall the *mitra* (ally), the *arimitra* (enemy's ally), *mitramitra* (the ally's ally) *ārimitramitra* (the enemy's ally's ally) situated in front (in accordance with the proximity of the territories); behind *pārṣṇigrāhah* (the enemy in the rear), the *ākranda* (ally in the rear), the *āsāra* (the rear enemy's ally) *avanayu* (the near ally's ally); one with territory immediately proximate to those of the *ari* (the enemy) and the *vijigīṣu* (the conqueror) is the *mādhyama* (middle king); one outside

> the *maṇḍala*[32] is the *udāsinā* (the neutral king) stronger and more powerful than the enemy, the conqueror and middle king, capable of killing both the *vijigīṣu* and the *ari* in the event of any one opposing him.

These are the constituents of the Maṇḍala of Twelve Kings in the centre of which stands the *vijigīṣu*;[33] *AS* 6.2.

UPAYAS

The methods suggested by the authors of *Nīti* texts to win over and subdue the enemy are known as *upāyas*. Without the *upāyas* the achievement of a king cannot prove stable in the same way as the image of an object cannot be correctly formed without the help of one's eye.[34] *Nīti* is like a ladder, the steps (*upāyas*) of which help the king to reach the highest point.[35] Somadeva says that the *Vijigīṣu* should first determine the propriety of a thing and abandon that which cannot be accomplished with *upāyas*. There are four *upāyas—Sāma*; *Dāna*, *Bheda*, and *Daṇḍa*, the preceding ones being superior to the following ones.[36] Rājānaka Alaka in his commentary on the *Haravijaya* explains how the use of an earlier *upāya* is to be preferred to that of a later one. Just as the successive order of the *āśramas* is conducive to one's welfare, and the attainment of one's object, so is the order of *upāyas* to a king who wants to subdue the enemy.[37] This is in full conformity with the views of Kauṭilya. The authorities on *nīti* say that only in the event of the first *upāya* having failed, the following is to be used.[38] The use of each *upāya* depends on the circumstances. Just as the eight elephants preside and guard over the eight cardinal points of the earth, similarly the *nīti* of a king is reinforced by the four *upāyas*.[39] These in their turn depend upon six measures of foreign policy.[40] The *upāyas* are regarded as the firm spokes in the wheel of a king's actions. The timely actions are the circumference of the wheel and the *rāṣṭra* (state) is its navel. Such a wheel of a king's actions never courts disaster.[41] Actions that are divorced from *upāyas* are like trees whose fruits are uncertain, but actions accompanied by *nīti* are like the wish-fulfilling tree that certainly bears fruits.[42]

The four *upāyas* are referred to by Kauṭilya.[43] The king need not take recourse to conciliation (*sāma*) where the objective is easy of achievement.[44] But to attain one's aim properly *sāma* should be used either before the outbreak of hostilities or when the enemy is gaining power. Although *sāma* is of manifold kinds, there are five main types of it,[45] praising the qualities of the other party (*guṇasaṅkīrtana*), narrating mutual relations (*sambandhopākhyāna*), displaying each other's obligation (*parasparopakāradarśana*), displaying of future consequences or dignity (*āyatipradarśana*), surrendering of one's self (*ātmopavartana*).

Sāma would be the best *upāya* against a popular and powerful king.[46] *Daṇḍa* was considered the last method against such an enemy.[47] Where the other king is selfless and enjoys the full confidence of his subjects, neither *dāna* nor *bheda* can succeed. Where he is strongly fortified, *daṇḍa* too is of no avail. So *sāma* is the only means to be adopted under such circumstances. A king expert in Nīti should not fight a brave king just as no one would dare disturb the ants' whole.[48] So *sāma* would be the best means to pacify a superior foe. Those who are well-versed in *nīti* take recourse to *Daṇḍa* in the same manner as an old man supports himself on the staff.[49] *Daṇḍa* is used in difficult circumstances to achieve success.[50] Such kings as prevent internal dissensions (*bheda*) like those of a boat maintain the treaties of friendship unharmed, but with the help of the same policy of dissension in their enemy achieve their ends.[51] Rājānaka closely follows the *Arthaśāstra* tradition in recommending conciliation in the case of ministers under suspicion of the enemy, gifts in the case of treasonable ministers, dissension in the case of confederates and force in the case of a powerful enemy.[52] All these expedients are to be used in order of their importance by kings who aim at winning Lakṣmi.[53] While the *Arthaśāstra* advocates the use of the first two means to subjugate weak kings, and the last two for overcoming strong kings,[54] Ratnākara believes that *Sāma* is to be used to subjugate a strong and popular ruler.[55] The authorities on *nīti* were aware of the dreadful consequences of *bheda*. They point out how by secretly sowing dissensions, even the forces of the brave can be brought to grief.[56] Kṣemendra says that jealous ministers can sometimes drive a wedge between a king and his chief adviser, forcing them to leave their country.[57]

The purpose of all *upāyas* is to secure an increase in one's power, principally at the cost of one's natural enemy, for the realisation of the ambition to conquer the world. The adoption of any of the six policies of *ṣāḍguṇya* is solely guided by this consideration. The interest of one's own state is the end, and expediency is a means to decide which policy would be most advantageous under the circumstances.[58] A king proficient in *ṣaḍguṇas* is compared to Viṣṇu.[59] Ministers too were to be proficient in it,[60] and were expected to keep a close watch over the sixfold policy of the king.

The policy of *ṣādguṇya* is associated with the theory of *maṇḍala*.[61] A king, taking refuge in *maṇḍala*, but neglecting the *guṇās* and *upāyas*, does not prosper.[62] This shows how a state, desirous of extending its influence and expanding its territory, had to conduct its foreign policy in full co-ordination with the *guṇās*, *upāyas* and the *śaktīs*. Like Kārtikeya, the six-faced god, the king employing his three-fold power embedded in his *bheda-nīti*, excels by means of his six-fold policy.[63] The *guṇās*, namely saṁdhi (peace), *vigraha* (war), *yāna* (marching), *āsana* (staying quiet), *dvaidhībhāva* (dual policy), and *samṣrya* or *vypāṣrya* (seeking shelter) bring about prosperity and success (*Śrī*) to those who wish to conquer, but amazingly to gain lustre need no finishing or refinement necessary in case of the gems.[64] Normally the policy of *saṁdhi* (making a treaty containing conditions or terms of peace) is to be followed when the enemy is stronger; if he is stronger than the enemy, then *vigraha* (the policy of hostility) is to be followed. If both are equal in power, then the policy of remaining quiet (and not marching on an expedition) is to be followed. If one is very strong, *yāna* (marching on an expedition) should be the policy. In case of one's weakness of *samśraya* or *vypāśraya* (seeking shelter with another king or in a fort) is necessary and *dvaidhībhāva* (the double policy of *saṁdhi* with one king and *vigraha* with another simultaneously) is recommended when help is sought from another source to fight the enemy.[65] The purpose of these six policies is to grow stronger in comparison to the enemy in the long run. Those who consider and act upon the principles of *saṁdhi*, *vigraha* and *vypāsraya* of the *maṇḍala* do not face any uncertainty about the fruits of their actions.[66] A king was expected to be proficient in *Saḍguṇya* in addition to his knowledge of the *upāyas*.[67] In the event of one's weakness, one should resort to forbearance and not to war. It was Sahasṛārjuna who captured Rāvaṇa.[68]

SAKTIS

The king is advised to consider carefully his own resources and those of his enemy and then with the help of *upāyas*, *guṇas* and *śaktīs* march to battle to remove the possibility of having to repent in the long run.[69] Obviously Ratnākara is concerned with *sandhī* and *vigraha* that are the principal means of acquisition and security for a state. With the *maṇḍala* of kings as the basis, Ratnākara explains the nature of three-fold *śakti* (power): the power of might (*prabhuśakti*) consisting of the power of the treasury and the army, the power of counsel (*mantraśakti*) and the power of valour (*utsāhaśakti*).[70] According to Kauṭilya the power of knowledge is the power of counsel, the power of the treasury and the army is the power of might and the power of valour is the power of energy.[71] Both Somadeva and Ratnākara share the view of Kauṭilya that *mantra-śakti* is more powerful than the power of arms and weapons.[72] *Mantra* is the root of the state.[73] It destroys the vanity of the enemy.[74] Policy when refined by *mantra* becomes efficacious in the hands of the wise.[75] Just as a physician explains all the five constituents of a chemical, likewise a skilled and ambitious conqueror explains the five elements of a *mantra*:[76] the *upāya* of beginning an activity (*karmaṇāmārambhopāya*), an abundance of men and material (*purushadravyasampata*), the position of the country and time (*deśakālavibhāga*), the removing of obstacles (*vinipātapratīkāra*), and the accomplishment of the object (*kāryasiddhi*).[77] The working and importance of *mantra* are explained in the background of metaphysics.[78]

The *mantra* employed by kings, not through proper policy but under prejudice, does not have a solid position as the Supreme Being does not have his position in five different specifications of its own. Again in a metaphysical background it is explained how the application of *mantra* bears fruits like the seed sown in water by Prajāpati which ripened into the egg of Brahmā. Kalhaṇa mentions how Jayāpīḍa's form reflected in counsel and valour (*mantravikrama*), as if it were in two mirrors, was multiplied a thousandfold.[79]

Ratnākara contemplates and provides for all possible situations which a state may have to face in its relations with foreign states. We find details and metaphors used on the metaphysical plane that might appear to be of little significance. The circumstances of his time made him to widen the nature and scope of his work. Though not a treatise on general principles, Ratnākara undertook his work with the object of stemming the onward rush of the *mlecchas* and recommended practical policies in any conceivable situation that may arise in actual political life.

THE GROWTH OF FEUDAL RELATIONS

From very early times the traditions of *digvijaya* was closely associated with the ideal of *dharmavijaya* in which the victor restored the conquered territory to the vanquished rulers or their scions on to some high officers of the kingdom.[80] Kālidāsa has described this policy as one of "uprooting and re-planting".[81] The universal monarchy (*sārvabhauma*) generally did not permanently annex the kingdom of the defeated prince.[82] We learn from Hsüan Tsang that *Pan-Nu-Ts'o* (Poonch), Ho-lo-She-Pu-lo or Rājapura (Rajauri), *Seng-ha-pu-lo* (Sinhapura) or Salt Range, Ta-ch'a-Shi-lo (Takshasila) had no independent rulers but were subject and tributary to Kashmir.[83] The principle of non-annexation was often followed by conquerors which explains the existence of a large number of feudatories even after the reign of Jayasiṁha. This helped the growth of local culture, trade and political institutions to develop unhampered.

The king, as the head of the feudatories, was viewed as the lord of the vassal kings. The feudatories continued as the real rulers in their respective principalities bound to their paramount lord by the obligation to pay regular tributes and do homage to him. Kalhaṇa conceives of Śreṣṭhasena, as 'Supreme over the rulers who unreservedly owned the fields of the Earth as their family property'[84] which indicates how the paramount lord at the top was separated from the common people under his feudatories.

GRADES OF FEUDATORIES

As against the contemporary records which mention two main grades of *Sāmanta* and *Māṇḍalika*, the Lokaprakāśa[85] in the section on *Cakravartipraśasti* lists the variants of the feudatories, including some officers with revenue. These are *bhūpati*, *narapati*, *hayapati*, *gajapati*, *Nṛpati*, *bhūpa*, *bhūpāla*, *Rājā*, *Rajalakṣmapāla*, *Kṣatriya*. *Kṣmāpurandara*, *Rājānaka*, *Kṣmācandra*, *Rājamahattama*, *Dvārapati*, *Kampanādhipati*, *haṭṭapati*, *koṭṭapati*, *caurapati* and *Lokādhipati*.[86] The *Rajataraṅgiṇī* lists them as: *ādhīśvara*, *maṇḍalesvara*, *deśaṭhakkura*, *ṭhakkura*, *rājā*, *sāmanta*, *rājanya*, *Rājānaka*.[87] The ruler of Campā is called *bhūpāla* or *Nṛpajayī* as he had conquered a number of sub-feudatories,[88] that of Vallāpura (Ballāvar) as *Nareśvara*, King Saṁgrāmapāla as the lord of Rājapuri (*rājapuripatih*), Utkarṣa as the Ūrvībhṛat of Lohara, Saṅgaṭa as the *Nṛpa* of Urasā, Gambhīrsīha as the *Isa* of *Kānda*, Uttamarāja as the *Dharādhipa* of Kāṣṭhvāṭa. In the case of Lohara, often tormented by rebellions, especially during the reign of Harṣa, a *maṇḍaleśa* (*mandaleśvara*, *maṇḍaleśitṛ*) was appointed as the governor of that province.[89] It appears that Lohara's financial importance had increased during the period and the kings appointed provincial governors to hold charge of this strategic area which till the time of Siṁharāja was possibly a feudatory state like the other tributary hill states of Kashmir.[90] Lohara finally lost its independent position when the two houses of Kashmir and Lohara were united by Saṁgrāmarāja, the son of Diddā's brother Udayarāja.[91] The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* refers to feudatories and their subordinate feudatories. Lalliya Śāhi, the ruler of Udabāṇḍapura, had Alakhāna and other unnamed kings as his sub-feudatories,[92], possibly including the Darads and the Turuṣkas. Many of Aramudi's feudatories (*anusāriṇah*) were subdued by Jayāpīḍa.[93] The Cambā inscriptions too refer to feudatories and their sub-feudatories. Meruvaranana was a feudatory of king Lalitāditya.[94]

His own sub-feudatory was Sāmanta Aṣāḍha-deva who built at Sivapura (Cambā) a temple dedicated to Saṅkalīsa with the permission of the feudatory of Lalitāditya.[95] A similar system of feudatories and their subordinate feudatories prevailed in other parts of northern and southern India.[96] It is interesting to note that even the Rājānakas could order the construction of shrines, with endowments presumably with the permission of their master.[97] Sri Thakkia, a feudatory of Sri Vidagdha, with the permission of his master, got the Tur image consecrated[98] on the occasion of his remarkable victories against the enemy. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* too mentions a number of *Rojānakas* making permanent endowments to newly constructed shrines.[99] This was done through land-grants made in perpetuity by the kings in favour of scholars and their descendants [100] The feudatory of Kārapatha[101] (through his daughter's son) settled in the Siṁhapura maṭha of Jayasiṁha Brāhmaṇas from the Sindhu country and *Siddhacehattra* (place not identified). Vidagha, a feudatory chief of Cambā granted an *agrahāra* to Brāhmaṇa Nandu.[102] Āsaṭa, the feudatory of Kalasa and Jayasiṁha, bestowed an *agrahāra* on Lord Viṣṇu[103] and another to the Brāhmaṇa Māca.[104] It seems that the feudatory chiefs of Cambā enjoyed the right of granting *agrahāras* without the previous permission of their overlords.

TITLES OF FEUDATORIES

The feudatories bore high sounding titles, such as *Paramamāheśvara*, *Paramvaiṣṇava*, *Parambhaṭṭāraka Mahārājadhirāja*, *Mahāśri-Sāmanta-Mukutādhipati*.[105] It was not always on account of the decline of the Central authority that the feudatory chiefs declared their independence[106] and assumed imperial titles. There were other reasons which led the feudatories to assume an independent status and imperial titles. Probably because of their geographical position on the periphery of the kingdom of Kashmir, the Central authority was content to leave them undisturbed so long as they paid their tributes and did not pose a threat to their overlords. King Ananta uprooted King Sālavāhana of *Campā* (Cambā) but placed a new ruler on the throne whom he allowed to use imperial titles. This is suggested by the imperial titles of Āsaṭa who next ascended the throne.[107] Thus, it would not be correct to assume that the feudatories assumed imperial titles only after they had declared themselves independent on the Central authority becoming weak. The inscriptions of Cambā do not mention any case of a feudatory chief of that state carving out an independent principality. They enjoyed a virtually independent position but remained faithful in their commitments. Their position was similar to that of autonomous principalities and they were also invited to important councils as equal partners as was done by Kalaśa in A.D. 1087-1088.[108] They were provided with full comforts as was done by the astute minister Vāmana.[109] The feudatories in some cases were allowed to use their earlier imperial titles and were not made to suffer in their rank and status.

POSITION OF THE FEUDATORIES

The feudatory chiefs were appointed to important posts in Central Government. These bore the designations 'office of high Chamberlain' (mahāpratīhārapīḍa); that of 'chief minister of foreign affairs (*mahāsaṁdhivigraha*); that of 'chief master of the Cavalry' (*mahāśvaśālā*); that of 'high keeper of the treasory' (*mahābhāṇḍāgāra*); and the fifth was called that of the 'chief revenue officer' (*mahāsādhanabhāga*).[110] The 'Śāhīs and other princes were the officers in these high posts All this suggests that the feudatories were not treated as mere tributaries but were given the position of responsible partners in the Central administration.[111] The *Śāhī* princes before and after their defeat at the hands of Mahmud of Ghazni took shelter at the imperial court and played a prominent role in the history of the Loharas (A.D. 1003-1128).[112] The matrimonial alliances with the Śāhī and the ruling house of Cambā[113] etc. suggest that the feudatories were treated in a dignified manner and enjoyed all privileges according to their rank and status. They were considered to be friendly allies who contributed to the prosperity of the kingdom, and were not reduced to submission as second-rate chieftains.[114] Even petty rulers were duly honoured. Aca, the son-in-law of Pramoda, a petty ruler from Mathurā, was appointed to the high office of Royal Chamberlain.[115]

The *Sāṁdhivigrahika*[116] maintained an overall control over feudatory princes. Both Alaṁkāra and Maṅkha managed this office well and a Sabhā of the learned was attended by the feudatories of the eight hill states.[117] The *Sāndhivigrahika* is described as the crest-jewel of the *Sāmantas* which suggests that he exercised a general supervision and direction over their affairs,[118] much in the same way as the Tantrapati (Political Agent) did in other parts of India. He seems to have been assisted in his work by a number of superintendents [119] Kalaśa tightened his grip over them in view of his precarious position after his accession to the throne following Ananta's suicide.[120]

There is clear evidence to show that the imperial power did not exercise the same control over all feudatories. General obedience and loyalty was expected of all the feudatories.[121] They were required to pay a regular tribute generally collected by the *Dvāreśa* or *Dvārapati*.[122] The king sometimes marched in person to collect it when it was withheld by the feudatories.[123] The vassals attended the coronation of the princes,[124] marriage ceremonies and other functions at the court. The feudatories do not appear to have issued any coin in their name. They received protection and military support from the imperial power when attacked.[125] The kings effectively interfered in the affairs of the weaker feudatories and maintained friendly diplomatic relations with the powerful ones.[126] They donated villages in the feudatories' territories to shrines in their own kingdom.[127] The kings, sometimes at their own initiative, created sub-feudatories under their feudatories and thus seem to have assured a regular receipt of tribute.[128]

Ordinarily the king did not interfere in the matter of the succession of feudatories, unless compelled to do so by the hostility of the feudatory chief or the withholding of regular tributes. King Śaṁkaravarman displaced Adhirāja Bhoja and bestowed the ruling power upon a prince of the Thakkiya family.[129] But his attempt to overthrow the powerful Lalliya Śāhi did not meet with any appreciable success till Prabhākaradeva, the minister of Gopālavarman, uprooted the Śāhi power at Udhbhāṇḍapura (Waihind) and bestowed the kingdom upon Toramāṇa, Lalliya's son.[130] Yaśodhara, the Kampaneśa of

Didda, after his successful expedition against the Śāhis, defeated Thakkana and installed him as a tributary prince with a fresh *abhiṣeka*.[131] The feudatory chiefs followed the law of primogeniture in succession, but if it was challenged they sought the protection of their lord. When Saṁgrāmapāla succeeded to the throne of Rājapurī after the death of his father, his uncle Madanapāla contrived to usurp the throne. The child-king's sister implored Kalaśa's help who sent Jayānanda to secure Rājapuri.[132] Sometimes kings could not succeed in their interference in matters of the feudatories' succession against the will of the people. Sussala's attempt to take up the cause of Nāgapāla against his brother Somapāla, the chief of Rajapuri, met with temporary success. But when he returned to Kashmir (A.D. 1119), Nāgapāla followed him, having lost the throne to his brother to whom the people of the hill state maintained firm loyalty.[133] King Ananta uprooted king Sāla of Campā (Cambā) and placed a new ruler on the throne.[134] Bilhaṇa speaks of Ananta's supremacy being acknowledged in Campā, Lohara, Darvābhisāra, Trigarta and Bhartula (Vartula).[135] Jayasiṁha after removing Vikramārāja installed Gulhana as the ruler of Vallāpura.[136]

SUCCESSION OF THE FEUDATORIES

We have one clear instance where the succession to a fief required the sanction and recognition of the overlord. This related to the *ḍāmaras* who had converted their fortified garrisons (*upaveśana*) into small territorial possessions (*rājopaveśana*)[137] which led to further fragmentation of political authority.[138]

OBLIGATIONS OF THE FEUDATORIES

The feudatories had to participate in the military campaigns of their overlord. In the war-council of *Kapphinabhyudaya*, the feudatories are shown anxiously waiting for the declaration of war to enlist their feudal levies against the enemy.[139] When Jayāpīḍa, like his grandfather, started on his *digvijaya*, he was accompanied by feudatory chiefs. His grandfather's huge feudal levy was one lakh and a quarter of war chariots (*karṇīratha*), whereas his own was only eighty thousand.[140] He was accompanied by princes of different principalities whom he dispensed when he came to Prayāga.[141] Śaṅkaravarman on his *digvijaya* marched with nine lakh of foot-soldiers from the Gate (*dvāra*). His army was reinforced from place to place by the troops of feudatory chiefs.[142] Kalhaṇa makes it clear that Śaṅkaravarman's advance quard of nine lakh of foot-soldiers, three hundred elephants and a lakh of horsemen was possible on account of the troops that joined him *en route* his foreign expeditions.[143] Twenty or thirty Rājaputras fought for Sussala in his encounter with Bhikṣu.[144] Among these feudatory princes were Udaya and Brahmajajjala, the lords of Campā and Vallāpura respectively.[145]

FEUDATORIES: A SOURCE OF STRENGTH OR WEAKNESS?

While the kings of Kashmir earned victories outside the state[146] and against their enemies with the help of the feudatory chiefs, it looks very doubtful if the maintenance of feudal levies by the feudatory chiefs was a source of strength to Kashmir polity. Once the paramilitary tribes like the Ekāṅgas, Tantrins and the Ḍāmaras gained the upper hand, they created disorder and anarchy by supporting the cause of the pretenders with the help of neighbouring chiefs. Thus the feudatories created instability and the turbulent para-military tribes drove the pretenders to rebellion against the emperor. There are instances, no doubt, of feudatories serving their overlords with exemplary courage and loyalty. The Guhilota ruler, Bappā Rāwal, a man of considerable acumen, laid down his life in an expedition of Lalitaditya in the north-western regions of Persia and Turkestan.[147] The feudatories of Harṣa fought for him against the Darads[148] and Sussala was faithfully served by several chiefs from Campā and Vallāpura against the Ḍāmaras and Bhikṣu.[149] But the total evidence of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* weighs heavily on the other side. The rulers of Kashmir had to undertake several expeditions from time to time to bring a revolting Rājapuri or an intractable feudatory under their control; but it seems to have practically enjoyed independence in Diddā's time and during subsequent reigns.[150] Ananta had to face Acalamaṅgala, the Darad chief and his formidable confederates, the seven Mleccha princes, against whom the Śāhi prince Rudrapāla fought a grim battle.[151] A similar invasion of Darads and Mleccha chiefs took place in the time of Jayasiṁha when they along with their sub-feudatories supported the cause of the pretender Bhoja.[152] The tributary Darad rulers fomented trouble from time to time on the borders of Kashmir and also within the kingdom.[153] The intrigues of the Ḍāmaras and the rise of the pretenders, Vijayamalla, Bhoja and others,[154] created sporadic political disturbances for the rulers of Kashmir. Haladhara, the minister of Ananta, extricated his master with cunning from Vallāpura (the old chiefship of Ballāvar to the east of the hills of Jammu).[155] After a temporary quiet in the time of Kalaśa, Vallāpura again became restive under its chief Padmaka, who, with his son Ānandarāja, joined a league of hill chiefs to support Bhikṣācara,[156] the youthful pretender to the Kashmir throne. Bhikṣācara's ephemeral success as the king of Kashmir in A.D. 1120 was marked by the machinations of feudatories joined by Turuṣka forces under Sallāra Vismaya[157] as it had been at the time of his triumphant entry into Srīnagara.[158] Such periods threatened the very existence of the government shaking the very foundations of society and causing suffering and loss to the various institutions of Kashmir. In the succession contest with the pretender Sussala paid with his life.

Some feudatories trifled with the interests of their overlord, and harmed the country by their internecine warfare. Bhuvanarāja of Lohara chieftainship was set against his father Ksitirāja with the help of the ruler of Nīlapura.[159] Kalaśa's second son was placed on the throne of Lohara.[160] The people experienced intolerable suffering and the horrid display of a liege lord's head introduced a dangerous trend[161] and, as Kalhaṇa points out, kings' heads fell like slates, a practice that had started with the tragic death of Harṣa in A.D. 1101.[162] The feudal levies of the hill chiefs fell in with Bhikṣācara and Vajradhara, the ruler of Babhāpura, offered his homage to Sussala.[163] The serious consequences of such alignments to the political stability can hardly be underrated. The upper course of the Sind river saw the rise of Turkish tribes under king Bhaṭṭa-Shāh and Kashmir had to suffer much from their inroads.[164] This must have led to further disruption of the kingdom and the weakening of the overlord.

It seems that these tribal belts seldom acknowledged the suzerainty of their overlord and used any opportunity caused by internal troubles within the kingdom to shake off the kings' yoke and stop payment of all tributes. They possibly enjoyed a large measure of internal autonomy. However, in the case of other feudatories things were. different. Subject to the payment of tribute, they exercised full right over their revenues and donated lands, perhaps without taking permission of the overlord. The records of Cambā refer to a number of officials such as *rājā*, *rājānaka*, *rājaputra*, *rājāmātya* (royal minister), *rājasthānīya*, *sanniyuktaka*, *viniyuktaka*. *dūta*, *gāmāgamas*, *śaulkika gaulmika* and *khandarakṣa* and all the eighteen officers while making a land grant.[165] These records are silent about the overlord's permission and bear the signature of the feudatory alone. In the case of Lohara and Rājapuri, with which the rulers of Kashmir were intimately connected, possibly some sort of a permission was sought, though no epigraphic evidence is available from these feudatory states.

OVERLORDS AND THEIR FEUDATORIES

The feudatory chiefs had to suffer a number of indignities. Karṇāṭa princess called Raṭṭa, the ruler of Dakṣiṇāpatha, acknowledged her submission to Lalitāditya by seeing her reflection in a round mirror of the nails of her overlord's lotus-feet.[166] The conquered rulers along with their people were made to adopt and wear various characteristic marks. The Turuṣkas were made to carry their arms at their back and shave half their head. The *Dakṣiṇātyas* were made to wear waistcloths, the ends of which were allowed to hang down behind to the ground.[167] Somapāla, the chief of Rājapuri, took food only when Jayasiṁha and partaken of it. The chiefs bowed down humbly and even personally massaged the limbs of the king with the cream of saffron[168] They held fly-whisks and umbrellas in their hands.[169] Sometimes a representative of the king returned the greetings of the feudatories who had come to pay homage.[170] Those who flouted authority or possibly stopped payment of tributes were dethroned and replaced by new rulers.[171] The princes were married to feudatory's daughters or sisters.[172] The *Sāmantas* were made responsible for the daily allowance of princes.[173] They humbly ceded a portion of their territory to save themselves from utter ruin and destruction.[174]

The relations of the overlord with his feudatories depended upon their resources and strength. Sussala and Jayasiṁha effectively interfered in the affairs of the state of Vallāpura (Ballāvar), while his predecessors Ananta and Kalaśa could hardly exercise any control over it. Though Jayasiṁha enjoyed a high prestige in the contemporary political set up and diplomatic ties with the Gahaḍavala king Govindacandra (A.D. 1114-1115) of Kanauj and possibly also with Aparaditya (A.D. 1138), the Silhara prince of Konkana,[175] his attempt to interfere in the affairs of Dardadeśa caused a formidable uprising by Loṭhana, a pretender, supported by Viddasīha, the Darad minister and subsequently the ruler of that territory.[176] The rulers of Kashmir could not long hold the Darads under their control though they were not altogether unsuccessfull against smaller feudatories. Lohara was the only tributary state where the rulers of Kashmir could claim absolute success and in due course of time made it an apanage of the Kashmir kingdom. During the second Lohara dynasty the kings of Kashmir crowned their sons or nearest relatives as the rulers of Lohara principality. There were occasions when the rulers of Lohara tried to drive out the rulers of Kashmir[177] and expeditions had to be organised for the reconquest of Lohara[178] and the appointment of a *Maṇḍaleśa*. The rulers of Kashmir possibly could not get the same allegiance and regular payment of tribute from their feudatories as did the overlords in other parts of northern India during the period.[179] The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* shows that they had often to march against the feudatories, which indicates that these tributary chiefs remained loyal only through fear of force.[180] It seems that taking advantage of the absence of the overlord's troops or his agents, the tributary chiefs were emboldened to shake off their allegiance to the king and stop paying tribute. The recurrence of these events may be explained in terms of

Kashmir's geopolities, side-valleys drained off by rivers and separated from the main valley by inhospitable mountain ranges. Perhaps the rulers of Kashmir did not station a permanent representative at the feudatories' courts to check attempts at sedition or revolt against the imperial power. Even if there were imperial representatives they could not have exercised any effective control over vassal states far removed from their overlord and sheltered by their impregnable fastnesses. Their allegiance and loyalty to the overlord was secured by periodic meets such as the Assembly of the chiefs and learned scholars.[181] Further, on account of the dependence of the king on merchants for the supply of horses the latter came to own villages as feudatories of the king.[182] The cavalry being the most important wing of the army, the king had to count on the co-operation of such feudatories.

The obligation of the overlord to support his feudatories in times of crises often brought war closer to their frontiers when the feudatories were menaced by their enemies.[183] Such feudatories, when defeated, took shelter with the overlord.[184] The Śāhi princes, after being worsted by Mahmud in battle, took a prominent part in the history of the Loharas (A.D. 1003-1028) and Rudrapāla and other Śāhi princes (*Śāhīputra*, *Śāhītanya*) 'exhausted the kingdom's revenues by the large salaries they drew and the patronage they enjoyed'.[185] This shows that some powerful feudatories, even after their political power, had suffered an eclipse wielded considerable influence on account of their past services, e g. Rudrapāla's singular service to King Ananta in routing the Darads and cutting off the head of one of them.[186] Even when these feudatories had ceased to be of any consequence, they continued to wield considerable influence both on Kalaśa and Harṣa.[187] The Śāhis' remained a factor in the Kashmirian court-life after their extinction as an independent political power'.[188] The measure of internal autonomy enjoyed by the feudatories depended upon the power and prestige of the feudatories and geographical factors. While the rulers of feudatory states of Campā (Cambā), Urasā (modern Hazāra) and Dardadeśa enjoyed a large measure of autonomy and maintained a regular hierarchy of officers, the rulers of Nīlapura, Vallāpura, Rājapurī and Lohara and the chiefs of

Kānda (hill states to the south-east of Kashmir) and Kāṣṭhavāla (Kishtwar in the valley of the Upper Chenab) had limited powers.[189] Sometimes very strong ruler appointed his own officers in the conquered territories. Lalitāditya made Jayāpīḍa the Viceroy of his eastern dominions.[190] Quite often the rulers of Kashmir resorted to diplomacy to keep the feudatories in good humour and even married their daughters to them.[191] The bigger feudatories thus seem to have created their own sub-feudatories and appointed their own officers. They seem to have enjoyed the right of assigning taxes, alienating and donating villages, perhaps without any reference to the imperial power But the smaller feudatories had to take permission for alienating land or land-revenues, most probably through the Sāndhivigrahika or the Tantrapati, a practice that seems to have been followed since the seventh century.[192]

In the frequent wars of succession during the period of the second Lohara dynasty the feudatories played a singular role as king-makers by taking sides of the pretenders to the throne.[193] On such occasions they paid off their old scores by dictating their terms to the new successors, although sometimes for a brief period only.[194] The rise of pretenders and frequent outbreak of rebellions during the period of Uccala, Sussala and Jayasiṁha indicate that these rulers could not command the same obedience from the feudatories who, in the war of succession, had been their benefactors. The chiefs of the neighbouring hill tracts introduced elements of instability in the body politic and the land was ravaged by the civil strife of the Ḍāmaras, Tantrins and Ekāṅgas and the intrigues and actual participation in succession conflicts by the feudatories. Relation with these feudatories were more of a socio-cultural nature than political in character, and obedience was exacted more through diplomacy than by force. Kalhaṇa admits that the Ḍāmara tribe, joined by brave Kashmiri soldiers from various *Sāmanta* families, was most difficult to defeat.[195] The kings of Kashmir considered their neighbouring hill chieftains as their enemies and tried to win them over either by matrimonial alliances or by cultural meets periodically organised at the capital.[196] They did not try to destroy these chieftains for fear of arousing tribal sympathies in latter's favour or creating conditions of permanent siege in which they themselves would have suffered much. As the enemies on the frontier could not be completely destroyed, the rulers of Kashmir befriended them with tact and diplomacy. As to the Ḍāmaras, Lalitāditya's policy was very clear that the husbandmen were not to be left with more than their basic necessities for fear lest they turned into hostile Ḍāmaras. A league of the feudatories and the Ḍāmaras could always prove very dangerous and the garrisons maintained in the frontier areas could not destroy their power. Hence, besides maintaining military stations or cantonments, wise rulers made every effort to understand the psychology of the hill-chiefs and troublesome ḍāmara tribes to keep them under control. It was apprehended that should the hill-chiefs befriend the turbulent ḍāmaras and multiply, the king would be put to serious difficulty.

A study of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, the *Deśopadeśa—Narmamālā* shows that the feudatories, vassal princes and ḍāmaras who often married their daughters to the kings strengthened their own position and improved their status to the detriment and consequent weakening of the position of kings. The pretenders and kings tried to outbid the other by entering into matrimonial alliances with their vassals and thereby enhanced the power of their feudatories.[197] Feudatories' marriages amongst themselves and matrimonial relations with royal families contributed in no small measure to the weakening of the Central authority.

REFERENCES

1. *RT* VII 66-69.
2. *Śrīk.* III 2-3; *RT* I 31, 38.
3. *Hara.* XIII 27.
4. *Ibid.* XII 24.
5. *Ibid.* XIV 20, 52; *Kapp.* V. 19.
6. *Ibid* XII 44-45; 56; cf. *AS* 6 2.
7. *BKM* p. 68-V. 6; *Hara.* XII. 71.
8. *Kuṭṭ* 987, 988.
9. *PV* 104; cf. *Mudrārākṣasa*, 1.5.
10. *AŚ* 6.2.33.

11. *PV*. 98-99
12. *Hara* XII 33; X 17.
13. *KSS* LIX. 10; XXXIII. 130; *NKT* p. 1.
14. *Hara* XII 29; *Kapp*. V. 19; *KSS* XII 35. 120-133.
15 *Ibid* XII. 34
16. *Hara* XIV. 56.
17. *PV* V 104.
18 *Ibid*. V 21, 24.
19 *Ibid*
20 *Hara* XII 26.
21. *Ibid* XII 25.
22. *Ibid*. XII 53; *AŚ* 6.2. 13-29.
23. *Hara*. XII 0.
24. *Ibid* XXVIII, 46. N.N. Law points out that the *madhyama* (the middle king) and *udāsīnā* (the neutral king) are two powerful rulers who could easily upset the balance of power in the circle of kings. (*IHQ*, IX, 770-783).
25. *PV* I.61.
26. The 'Circle of Twelve Kings' has been fully discussed in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, 6.2.
27. *Hara*. XXVIII.44; *AKL* 28 8.
28. *AKL* XXVIII 8.
29. *NKT* p. 248, 113 ff.
30. *KP* IV.104 (*Kāvyaprakāṣa*).
31 Supra, *Hara* XII. 30.
32 Kauṭilya here has the reading 'one outside (the sphere of) the enemy. the conqueror and the middle king, stronger than their constituents, capable of helping the enemy, the conqueror and the middle king when they are united or disunited and of suppressing them when they are disunited, is the *madhyama* (the middle king).
33. *Hara*. XII 38 and commentary.
34. *Hara* XII 72, 62.
35. *Ibid*. XII 40.
36. *KSS* XII.25 120-133; 35.144; XIV 23; cf. *Sūkti* 110.43; *Hara*. X.19.
37. *Hara*. X 50.
38. *Ibid*. *loc. cit*.

39. *Hara* XII.50; 40.
40. *Ibid.* 51; cf. *AŚ* 7.1 38.
41. *Hara*. XII 38.
42. *Ibid* 37.
43. *AŚ* 9.5.10; 9.6.21-22; 9 7 68-81; 2.10.48-53; 9.5.11; 9.6.23-25; 9.7.68-81; 2.10.54; 9.5 29; 9.5.12-28; 9.6 26 52; 9.7 68-81; 2.10 55.
44. *Hara* XIV.23, 24.
45. *Ibid.* XIV 24.
46. *KSS* XII.25 123-126.
47. *Ibid* 127.
48. *Ibid.* XII.35.144; XIV 23; cf. *Sūkti*. 110 43; *Hara*. XIV 55.
49. *Hara* XII 56.
50. *Ibid* X 50.
51. *Ibid.* 57; 58.
52. *AŚ* 9.7.72.
53. *Hara*. XII 41
54. *AŚ* 7.16.3.
55. Supra.
56. *RT* VIII 603 sqq.
57. *AKL* XX 10 16.
58. *AŚ* 7 18 44; 7 *passim.*
59. *PV* V.21; 24; VI Nārāyaṇa too possesses six guṇas of prosperity, strength, glory, *srī*, knowledge and renunciation.
60. *PV* VI 44; IX 37; *AKL.* XX.3.
61. *Hara* XIV 35.
62. *Ibid.* XII.45, 51; *Suvrti* 3 18; cf. *AŚ* 6.2.33.9.1 2-16.
63. The commentator of the *Haravijaya* explains *śakti* as *Ha a*. XII. 48.
64 *Hara.* XII, 49-56 sqq. 76; *AKL* XX 3.
65. *AŚ* 7 1.6-18; 7 passim.
66. *Hara*. XII 43.
67. *PV* V 24; IX 44.
68. *CC* 47.
69. *Hara*. XII 76.
70. *Hara* XIV 33.
71. *AŚ* 6.2.33.
72. *Ibid* 10.6; *kapp.* 5 24.
73. *KSS* X 6.16.

74. *Hara* XIV. 25, 26.
75. *Kapp*. 5.24.
76. For details of *mantra* refer to *Hara*. IX.74-75.
77. *Hara* XII 31; XIV 27.
78. *Ibid*. XII.35.
79. *RT* IV 502; V 310.
80. *RT* IV 177, 140, 145.
81 *Raghu*. IV 37. Kālidāsa has here cited the beautiful simile of the bountiful paddy crop of the farmer compared to the full treasury of the king, resulting from the transplantation of seedings from one field to the other and the collection of tributes from the vanquished princes. The practice of transplantation of paddy seedlings is still followed in Kashmir by the agriculturists *RT* V 149; VII 218
82. *RT*. IV 126 sqq; cf. *Manu*. VII, 22.
83. Walters: On *Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, vol. I, pp. 283, 284, 248, 240; Beal: *Records of the Western World*. Vol. I, pp. 136-137; 147; 163.
84. *RT* III, 101; *PV* V. 36; Watters, Travels, 240 sqq.
85. *LP* Pr. I, p. 2.
86. In their English equivalents these would correspond to 1. Minor king; 2. Rāja of lesser status; 3. Officer-in-charge of horses; 4. Officer-in-charge of elephants; 5 Officer-in-charge of infantry; 6. Officers-in-charge of lands; 7. The Prince; 8. Officer-in-charge of royal insignia; 9. Warrior's title; 10. A big landlord, 11. 'Moon' of the Earth; 12. Rājānaka; 13. Officer-in-charge of the secular matters; 14. Warden of the Marches; 15. Kampanādhipati; 16. Marketing officer; 17. Officer-in-charge of forts; 18. Lord of Thieves; 19. Governor of a Province.
87. *RT* VIII, 539, 1814, 548, 554, 15, 102, 510, Vogel, Introduction, *RT* VI 117, 261.
88. *Ibid*. VII 218; 588-590.
89. *Ibid*. VII 996; VI 73; VIII 1228, 1814, 2029.
90. *Ibid*. VII 1282-1287.
91. *Ibid*. VII 1284-1285.
92. *RT* V 152-155; Kalhaṇa's description of Lalliya Śāhi's position agrees with the account of the Chinese Annals

according to which Udayāna or the modern Swat with the neighbouring hill-regions was united with Gandhāra under the rule of 'the king of Ki-pin', who belonged in all probability to the dynasty of the 'Turkish Shāhiya's of Kabul. It appears that Lalliya's kingdom stood between the kingdom of the Darads on the north and the Turuṣkas on the south; see Stein. Vol. I, V 152-55 n.

93. *Ibid* IV 533 sqq; Regarding the identification of Arāmudi with Varadeva of Nepal, see Jayaswal, JBORS, XXII, pt. III, p. 251-54; identified with Jayadeva II, the Lichhavi King, see Regmi: *Ancient and Mediaeval Nepal*, p. 123.
94. Vogel, Plate X. p. 142.
95. *Ibid*, Plate XI, pp. 146-147.
96. *IA* X, 159; *EI* XIX, 73-77; *IA* XIV, 24; *EI* III, p. 53.
97. Vogel, Plate XIII p. 151.
98. *Ibid.* plate XIX, p. 172.
99. *BKS* VI, VII, VIII *passim.* (VIII 2419-2423, 3343-3344).
100. *RT* VIII 2395.
101. *Viṣṇu* (Wilson), iii p. 319 places Kārapatha with its capital *Āngadi* in the Himālayas; *Raghu*, XV.90; *RT* VIII 2444.
102. Vogel Plate XVII, p. 165.
103. *Ibid*. Plate, XX, p. 187.
104. *Ibid*. Plate XXVI, p. 197.
105. *Ibid* Plate XXIV, p. 182; XXV, p. 187; XXVI, p. 197; XIX, p. 172.
106. *RT* VIII 1608; *Jon.* 40 sqq; *Wāqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 24; *Tārīkh-i-Hassan*, II, p. 153 Paramaṇuka, (A.D. 1155-1164) ignored foreign expeditions. Owing to his imbecile conduct, the chiefs of Pākhli, Kashṭawār, Rajauri, Jammu and Tibet declared their independence.
107. *Ibid.* VII 218; *IA* XVII, pp. 7 sqq. Vogel, Plate, XXVI, 1.7, p.
108. *Ibid.* VII 588-590. It seems that there was a regular *Sāmanta* Assembly and that the *Sāmantas* acted as Counsellers, especially on occasions when they were faced with a common danger—in this case being motivated by the common threat of Muslim invasion.
109. *RT* VIII 593.
110. *Ibid.* IV 142-143; VII 144-149.

111. This is indicated by the Cambā inscriptions which assume the independent status of the rulers who are otherwise known to have ruled as the tributaries of the Kashmir ruler.

The relation of Sussala with the feudatories of Cambā and Vallāpura was of considerable help to him in recovering the throne in A.D. 1121 and defeating Bhiksācara in A.D. 1122. Both Sussala and Jayasimha valued the assistance of Somapāla of Rajapurī on account of the latter's influence and strength and had matrimonial alliances with him.

112. *RT* VII passim. (VII 144 sqq. 178. 274).
113. *RT* VII 47 69, 956, 319, 1512; VII 150-152; 1470.
114. *Srīk.* XXV-4.
115. *RT* IV 513.
116. *Srīk.* iii. 62; XXV 61; *RT* 3354.
117 Supra Ch. III, p. 168.
118. *Srīk.* XXV 40; cf. *Mānasollāsa* (Vol. I, p. 40), II 2.177.
119. *RT* VII 516.
120. *RT* VII 445 sqq.
121. *Ibid.* V 216, VIII 625; VII passim.
122. *Ibid* 214; VIII 1968-1970, 1964; IV 126, 183, 189, 176.
123. *Ibid* V 215-216.
124. *Ibid.* VIII 3303; *NP* 817 (Vreese ed.); cf. *Rājadharmakāṇḍa* of *Kṛtyakalpa* (GOS, Vol No. C).
125. *Ibid.* VII 574; 47-69.
126. *Ibid.* VIII 2452-63; *Report* JBRAS, 1877, p. 51; for Jayasiṁha's friendly relations with Gahḍavāla ruler Govindacandra and Śīlhara Aparāditya of Konkan and their ambassadors at the court of the Kashmir king, see also *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 53, 101.
127. *RT* IV 187.
128. *Ibid* IV 468.
129. *RT* V 151; Regarding *Adhirāja* Bhoja as the ruler of Kānyakubja (Kanauj); see *EI*, i p. 170. We do not have any clue to the identity of the *Thakkīyakānvaye*.
130. *Ibid.* V 155; 232-23; Vaidya: *HMHI*, p. 194; Tormāna seems to have taken shelter at the court of Kashmir against the usurper, Śṛī Sāmantadeva, who wanted to shake off the allegiance of Kashmir.

131. *Ibid*. VI 230-232.

132. *Ibid*. VII 533-541.

133. *RT* VIII 619-634.

134. *Ibid*. VII 218; *Vikram*. XVIII. 38; *IA*., XVII. pp. 7 sqq.

135. *Vikram*. XVIII. 38.

136 *RT* VIII 2452; *Struggle for Empire*. p. 101; cf. *Raghu*, IV 37.

137. *RT* VIII 1070, 2507, 2741, 2745.

138. *Ibid*. VIII 882, 881.

139. *Kapp*., Sargas I to V.

140 *RT* IV 403-407.

141. *Ibid*. IV 414.

142. *Ibid*. V 136-140.

143. *Ibid*. 143-144.

144. *Ibid*. VIII 1082.

145. *Ibid*. 1083-1086.

146. *RT* IV 134 n (Stein, Vol. I.) Yaśovarman, the king of Central India was an ally of Lalitaditya who had earlier defeated the Tibetans with his assistance.

147. Goetz, H.: JBBRAS XVII, p. 57.

148. *RT* VII 1180.

149. *Ibid*. 1077-1086.

150. *RT* VI 286, 349 sqq; VII 967 982, 1257-67.

151. *Ibid*. VII 167 176; Vaidya, *HMHI*, III, p. 310; *Vikram*. XVIII. 34; *Alberunī*, India, Vol. I, p. 207.

152. *Ibid* VIII 2761 sqq.

153. *Ibid* VII 912-13; Albērūnī, Vol. I, p. 207.

154. *Ibid*. VIII 209, 212 sqq; passim; VII 1171-79; VIII 201.

155. *Ibid* VII 220-222.

156. *Ibid* VIII 539 sqq.

157. Probably a Mleccha chief from the lower Punjab hills.

158. *RT* 884 sqq; Ray, H.C. *DHNI*, I, p. 165.

159. *Ibid* VII 251-260; *Vikram*. XVIII 47.

160. *Ibid*. VII 5 2.

161. *Ibid*. VIII 1466-69.

162. *Ibid*. VII 1724.

163. *Ibid*. VIII 537-51, 625.

164. Alberunī, Vol. I, p. 207.

165. Vogel, Plates 24, 25, 26 etc.
166. *RT* IV 152-154.
167. *Ibid.* IV 178-180.
168. *Ibid.* VIII 1897-1898.
169. *NP* 817 (Vreese ed.)
170. *RT* V 224.
171. *Ibid.* 232-233.
172. *Ibid.* VII 319, 1512-14.
173. *RT* VII 762; 733.
174. *Ibid.* V 149-150. For the custom of saving one's life by cutting off one's finger, see VIII 1594, 1738, 2272, 3300.
175. *Ibid.* VIII 1083, 2453; Bühler's *Report* JBRAS, 1877, p. 51; Supra, VII 220, 270; *Śrīk.* XXV 102, 110 sqq.
176. *Ibid.* VIII 2456-2641, 2903.
177. *RT* VII 139 sqq.
178. *Ibid.* VIII 1836 sqq; 2021 sqq.
179. *Ibid.* VIII 3231.
180. *Ibid.* IV 339.
181. Supra, VII 587 sqq; *Śrīk.* XXV passim.
182. *RT* IV 712.
183. *TA*, p. 8 (*Bibliotheca Indica*, tr. B Dey).
184. *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 34; *JRAS* 1909, Part I, pp. 276-81.
185. *RT* VIII 145-153.
186. *Ibid.* VII 174-178.
187. *RT* 272-74.
188. *DHNI*, loc. cit., p.
189. *RT* VII 533 sqq, 588-590; 966, 1017-1020, VIII 1345; *Śrīv.* i.46; Jon. 27-38; Drew: *Jummoo* pp. 116 sqq; VIII 8, 1963-70 passim; *Struggle for Empire*, p. 101.
190. Altekar: *JNSI* X, pt. i, p, 37 ff; *RT* IV 177.
191. *RT* VIII 1256-91, 1464; 3343 sqq; 3403.
192. *IA* XIII, p. 98.
193. *RT* VIII 547 sqq; VIII 442, 460, 502.
194. *Ibid.* VIII 2481 sqq; *passim*.
195. *RT* VIII 1078.
196. Supra.; *RT* IV 345 ff.
197. *RT* VIII 460, 1607, 287, 1443-44, 1464-65, 1648-49, 3394.

9

Public Finance

IMPORTANCE OF KOSA

Some form of taxation seems to have existed in Kashmir from very early times Of the seven officers mentioned by Kalhaṇa before the reign of Jalauka, two, *viz. Dhanādhyakṣa* (Revenue-Superintendent) and *Koṣādhyakṣa* (Treasurer) are counted in the legal system of the kingdom of Kashmir.[1] The *Kathāsaritsāgara* reiterates the traditional principle that wealth or treasury is the root of the tree of the empire.[2] The importance of this proposition was well understood and emphasized by ancient Indian political thinkers who considered *Koṣa* as one of the most essential constituents of the state.[3] Kalhaṇa says, "who would concern himself with a man (*king*) who has no means (*kośa*) though his abilities may be raised to the highest point (*dhārā*), though his descent (*vaṁśa*) may be noble and his character pure.[4] *Kośa* is, therefore, of supreme importance and the physical prowess or noble descent of the king are of no avail but rather a poor armour to ensure the prosperity of the people, and the defence of the kingdom. The detailed description of the *Śiracīrikā* and *Padārthalekhā* in the Lokaprakāśa underline the importance of finances in the body politic.[5] The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* states how Kalaśa, like a *Niyogī*, personally watched the present and future income and expenditure and always kept by his side birch-bark (*bhūrja*) and chalk (*khaṛiyā*).[6] All this evidence clearly indicates that a treasury justly accumulated was the most important limb of the state to promote the welfare of the kingdom and any deterioration in it was likely to lead to calamity.

THEORY AND PRINCIPLES OF TAXATION

The state derived its revenue from several sources, land being the principal one, besides different kinds of taxes and fines and tributes from the feudatories. From very early times emphasis was laid on the necessity of taxation being fair and equitable. The king was looked upon as the protector of the people and in lieu of his protection he received a share in the economic products from them. This principle relating taxation to protection is also implied in the legend of Nāga Mahāpadma who promised to show a golden ore to king Jayāpīḍa if the latter were to protect him from a Dravidian sorcerer.[7] Kalhaṇa observes that excessive taxation leads the kings to ruin and hatred and ultimately to the effacing of their very memory, their family, their glory, their life, their wives, and even their names are destroyed in a moment.[8] A king who oppresses his people does not derive the slightest benefit either in this or in the next world[9] and struck by the curse of the people such a wicked king loses children without any apparent cause and is himself doomed to hell.[10] Somadeva expresses the view that riches earned by Dharma last for generations while an ill-gotten treasure evaporates like a dew-drop on a leaf.[11] So the king is exhorted to obtain wealth by righteous means.[12] Dāmodaragupta by using a metaphor of bees and flowers advises the king not to harass his subjects by such an oppressive system of taxation as would ultimately result in their impoverishment. For do not the bees while settling long on a bunch of flowers suck it dry.[13] The king, ministers by their close accociation should protect their kingdom and make it viable after collecting adequate taxes.[14] The best king is, therefore, one who is moderate and who by timely collection of taxes ensures a continuous payment of taxation.[15] He is like a bee who, desirous of producing only juice from a ripened lotus sticks to it but is unlike selfish courtesan who is out to drink her lover to the dregs.[16]

According to Somadeva the king is the wish-fulfilling tree (*Kalpavṛkṣa*) for his people and the latter is his wish-fulfilling cow (*Kāmadhenu*).[17] The people and the king stand in close association, the one ensuring a continuous and regular supply of taxes and the other fulfilling their desires. But a wicked king is one who oppresses the land by his taxes in the same way as the rays of the sun afflict the travellers in an inhospitable tract of the forest.[18] He is like a male cat who for his personal ends eats his own people.[19] We can surmise that good monarchs tried to live up to the Smṛti ideal in their fiscal policy. However, in actual practice these principles were not always faithfully followed because they had no compelling constitutional sanction. We find many references to oppressive taxation during our period[20] and it looks highly doubtful whether the criteria of equitable taxation convenient to the agriculturists was followed by the state. The peasants seem to have borne the incidence of the taxation to the largest extent. Kṣemendra refers them 'as being exploited by the ruler'.[21] In some cases they appear to have been left with a bare margin of subsistence.[22] Śaṁkarvarman's axe fell so heavily on the agriculturists that 'they were left only with air to live upon'.[23]

There is no evidence to suggest a partial or total remission in the normal taxation was allowed when fresh lands were brought under cultivation or when irrigation facilities were extended. The *Arthaśāstra* advises that the nominal taxes on such lands are to be gradually raised to normal rates during a period of four or five years.[24] The *Lokaprakāśa* can be interpreted to suggest that the state followed this policy in practice.

Extra taxation seems to have been imposed only in times of serious calamity in the form of the menace of external aggression, extravagant wars or internal disturbances caused by the maintenance of a huge army, costly royal household or turbulent Ḍāmaras and other para-military tribes, such as Ekāṅgas, Tantrins and Lavanyas.[25] Curiously enough in our period we have a dismal record of frequent disturbances followed by heavy taxation.

According to the injunctions of the law-books, the learned Brāhmaṇas, hermits, women, helpless persons and student studying at *gurukulas* were exempted from taxation.[26] But a few pieces of evidence tend to show that these rules were not always observed in practice during our period.[27] The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* informs us how king Harṣa seized the property of Brāhmaṇas and temples and subjected them to forced labour (*rūḍhabhāroḍhi*).[28] The literary evidence shows that the claim of the Brāhmaṇa class for remission from taxation was generally not recognized by the state. Some donees of the Brāhmadeya villages drowned themselves in the stream of the Candrabhāga tortured by the fiscal oppressions of king Jayāpīḍa who confiscated the endowed lands (*Agrahāras*) of Brāhmaṇas.[29] King Saṁkaravarman took the unusual step to convert the *Agrahāra* lands into permanent assignments (*pratikara*) shows that the class-privilegs of the Brāhmaṇas were not always honoured.[30] When Devadaya villages were not spared by the kings, ordinary Brāhmaṇas, who followed non-Brāhmaṇical professions could hardly have fared better in their claims for exemption from taxation. The way in which Bhūteśvara temples and other shrines and their treasury were looted by the kings[31] shows that neither the Brāhmaṇas nor their endowments were spared.

LAND-TAX

The references to *Huṇḍikās* and *Cūikās* in the *Lokaprakāśa*[32] show that land-tax formed the major source of revenue to the royal treasury. Ordinarily, the state claimed one-sixth of the produce of land from the people in return for the protection given to their persons and property.[33] If a king is not able to please (*anurañjana*) his subjects by means of protection etc. his appellation of *Rājā* is useless like the nipples round a goat's neck.[34] The principle of the payment of one-sixth as laid down in the earlier texts[35] was so firmly imbedded in the thought of the time that even Jonarāja[36] makes his patron Zain-ul-Ābidin in his Copper-Plate refers to the collection of one-sixth of gold from the river-gold. Thus one-sixth seems to have been the customary share of the king from the produce of the soil.[37] There is some evidence to support it. The Kārkoṭa rulers, particularly Jayāpīḍa, ordered the collection of land-tax for three consecutive harvests, which included the cultivator's share as well This suggests that the state sometimes raised its demand, and possibly claimed half share of the produce.[38] Likewise the fiscal oppressions of Śaṁkaravarman and Harṣa[39] and their new imposts would suggest that the traditional land-tax was not increased even by the most oppressive rulers who devised new means of raising revenue. We may, therefore, inter that one-sixth was the standard rate in our period, though as at some other times, it may have been supplemented by new burdens of taxation.

Direct evidence about the nature of taxation in our period is rather limited. But, from the references in the *Lokaprakāśa*, the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, the *Kuṭṭanīmata* and the works of Kṣemendra, we can trace an outline of the revenue system of our period. Among the revenue terms of this period, *Bhāgabhoga* is mentioned at several places. Fleet suggests that the term *bhāga-bhoga* may perhaps be considered as one fiscal expression indicating "enjoyment of taxes,"[40] taking its literal meaning as "share of the enjoyment."[41] Sircar interprets *bhāga* as 'the royal share of the produce',[42] and *bhoga* as the periodical supplies of fruits, fire-wood, flowers etc which the villagers had to furnish to the king and his officers on their visiting tours. That the term *bhāga* denotes a royal share in the produce from land is supported by the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and the *Lokaprakāśa*.[43] Thus, *bhāga* or *bhāga-kara* of the inscriptions definitely is to be taken to stand for the land-tax. But, it has also to be noted that in the *Arthaśāstra bhāga* seems to have been supplied by a natural extension of meaning to other similar taxes.[44] This is corroborated by the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[45] according to which some oppressive rulers replenished their treasury by securing revenue by means of *dvādaśabhāgādi*, *Bhāga* in such cases referred to other taxes of a like nature.[46] This supports the suggestion of Lallanji Gopal that the expression *bhāgabhogakara* was often used to refer in a general way to the revenue paid in kind.[47]

The revenue commuted into cash payment was also classified under *bhāgas* this is suggested by terms such as *dhanatribhāgasya* in the *Lokaprakāsa* which were to be realized and collected from a *rāṣtra*.[48]

The *bhoga* of inscriptions[49] and Manu[50] probably signifies periodical supplies of fruits, flowers, vegetables, firewood and the like which the villagers had to furnish to the king. This interpretation is given by Manu and the commentators Medhātithi and Kullūka.[51] *Bhoga* is sometimes referred to as a feudal assignment. Lallanji Gopal disagrees with Tripathi's interpretation of *bhoga* as the landlord's right of the enjoyment of fallow land and Dikshit's explanation of the term as 'eight privileges'. He says that these enjoyments are in the nature of privileges and rights and do not fit in with most of the grants in northern India, where the villagers are ordered to bring (*samupanī*) *bhoga* along with other dues and objects to the doonee. He supports the original suggestion of Bühler who accepts the interpretation of Manu and his commentators.[52] Sometimes the term is explained as 'tax in kind'.[53] Sircar is of the view that the term originally implied enjoyment or an object of enjoyment,[54] later property (*Jāgir*), then also a territorial unit which was generally the sub-division of a district.[55] According to Ghosal *bhoga* stands for the king's normal grain-share.[56] *Lokaprakāśa* mentions *Bhogapati*'s share in connection with the Brahmadeya lands which would imply that *Bhogapati* possibly received a portion of the crops as his share on behalf of the king, the remaining portions being shared by the cultivators. *Bhogapati* also received payment iy *Dīnāras* which indicates that besides his grain share the king also received payment in cash possibly calculated as a fixed number of Dīnāras per *prastha*.[57] Thus it seems that besides its normal meaning, the term *bhoga* in the context of the Brahmadeya lands referred to the right to enjoy the normal grain-share from such lands.[58] In some cases the right to *bhoga* seems to have been assigned to some local officers.[59]

UDRANGA

Udraṅga or *draṅga* is another revenue term frequently mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, *Lokaprakāśa* and *Kuṭṭanīmata*. This fiscal term has been variously interpreted by different scholars. Ghoshal explains *udraṅga* as a tax levied on the permanent tenants and *uparikara* as a tax imposed on the temporary tenants.[60] The *Śāsvatakoṣa*[61] paraphrases these terms as *udhāra* and *udgrantha* and Fleet,[62] following this source, explains *udraṅga* as "the share of the produce collected usually for the king". Sircar holds that it was a fixed tax like *Kḷpta*, paid in grains, at least in some regions.[63] Lallanji Gopal also suggests that *udraṅga* and *uparikara* may be equated with *kḷpta* and *upakḷpta* of other records.[64] Pushpā Niyogi[65] associates *udraṅga* with *draṅga* (watch-station or military station) of the *Rājatraṅgiṇī* and suggests that the term may mean 'a tax collected from places contiguous to *draṅgas* or from *draṅgas* themselves or alternatively, it might have meant some kind of tax raised to meet the cost of some local festivals held periodically. According to Maity *udraṅga* in the inscriptions may mean some kind of police tax levied on the district for the maintenance of the local police station.[66] From some passages in the *Kuṭṭanīmata mahādraṅga* appears to have been a *vilabdha*[67] or *vilabdhi-sthāvara*[68] of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (a fixed tax). To remove the dependence of the Ekāṅgas on the uncertain emoluments paid by the *Akṣapaṭala* office, king Ananta allotted to them the *vilabdhi-sthāvara*, totalling to 96 crores of Dīnāras. It appears that the *vilabdhi-sthāvara* was a fixed tax like *kḷpta*.[69] The *Kuṭṭanīmata* also shows that Ṭhakkuras were generally maintained on *mahādraṅga* which was supposed to yield sufficient revenue from a *pradeśa*.[70] *Mahādraṅga*, according to Vaṅga commentator, means a police-post for realizing taxes and octrois.[71] In Kashmīrī dialect its basic meaning is *Vilamba*. Stein regards the *draṅgas* to have been police watch-stations which also functioned as Customs-houses.[72] That *draṅgas* collected customs-duties (*śulka*) is supported by the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (VII .010) and also the later chronicles of Śuka.[73] The king's name was stamped in *sindūra* (red-lead) on the wares for which customs-duty had been paid.[74] The *draṅga* as a fiscal unit included many officers, merchants, *draṅgapati* etc. who collected fixed taxes in the form of agricultural produce and customs-duty on merchandise, and paid part of it to the Ṭhakkuras (feudal barons).

The term *dvara*[75] is used by Kalhaṇa for a 'fortified post' on routes leading through mountain ridges to forests. It is possible that all merchandise passing through such routes was taxed at a '*draṅga*'.[76] In view of its importance, the *draṅga* was strongly garrisoned, and the revenue received in the form of customs-duties and produce of the adjoining villages, towns, forts, cowherd colonies and orchards etc. from Nirguṭa (Police magistrate), Khosar, divira (land-secretaries), merchants, draṅgapati (officers in charge of customs house) and tillers, was to be entered in the Śiracīrikā.[77] The term *Raṇisāṅgastha* most probably refers to a *draṅga* estimated to yield 95,000 *dīnarās* and 60,000 Kharwārs of *Shāli*.[78] The reference to *mahādraṅga* in a *pradeśa* suggests that it was an important item of tax. The *draṅgapati*, *draṅgadhipa* or *draṅgādhīśvara*,[79] was possibly an officer in charge of a *draṅga* (*draṅgapativāstvyanivāsinām*) responsible for the realisation of taxes levied on merchandise and the inhabitants of his area including the agriculturists. The *draṅga*, seems to have been a fortified customs-house for the collection of all fixed taxes due to the king, including the customs duties on merchandise, and, in view of its importance, it was placed under the charge of a commander who invariably also held the charge of the Lord of the Gate (*Dvārādhipa*).

Dr. Altekar's view that the terms *sodraṅgah* and *soparikarah* are identical with the terms *sabhāga-bhogakarah*[80] is not supported by the *Śiracīrikā* (the Budget) and *Padārthalekhā* (the Revenue-Roll) of *Lokaprakāśa* which clearly mentions *draṅga* along with *bhogabhumī* or *bhogapati's* share from such lands.[81] Thus *bhāga* and *bhoga* were not synonymous with *udraṅga* and *uparikara*,[82] but formed separate heads of revenue realised both from agriculturists and the merchants. Lallanji Gopal's suggestion that these antithetical groups of *udraṅga* and *uparikara*, *bhaga* and *bhoga* and *dhānya* and *hiraṇya* were overlapping in their import and referred to the land revenue and allied state income from slightly different standpoints is supported by our sources.[83]

EXTRA-LEVY

Another fiscal expression we come across is *Kham gam saṁkṣatyādiksyopri sasyapādīyo*. It possibly refers to an extra levy of one-fourth of the grain-produce taken on account of the likely damage caused to the king's share by winds, storage, fire etc.[84] It was a sort of surcharge, possibly corresponding to *uparikara* mentioned in the inscriptions from the Gupta period onwards.[85] Maity, equating *uparikara* with *draṅga* of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, takes it to be a sort of police-tax levied on the district for the maintenance of the local police-station. According to him it was an extra imposition upon all kinds of tenants.[86] Though the *Lokaprakāśa* mentions *upari sasyapādīyō* along with *ranisāṅgastha* or *draṅga*,[87] it suggests that the extra levy was charged from the tenants to offset the loss to revenue caused by natural factors. There is nothing in the *Lokaprakāśa* to show that this extra imposition was levied for the maintenance of the local police.

The incidence of the land-tax is not revealed by our records. The Revenue Roll (*śiracīṇikā*) and the Budget (*padārthalekhā*) indicate that the land-tax was collected both in kind and in cash. Since we do not know the gross produce of the villages in the *rāṣṭra*[88] and *pradeśa*, it is difficult to determine the incidence of the tax. The percentage of taxation possibly varied according to the qualities of land, as is indirectly hinted at by *khasitagrahaṇa*, *dvihana* and *saṁśodhana*.[89] It seems that the *khasitagrahaṇa* was expected to pay the revenue in cash and in the case of the other two payment in kind might have been preferred.[90] Suyya's survey of different classes of land and the provision of irrigation facilities, keeping in view the nature of the soil, tends to support this assumption.[91] It appears that the percentage of the overall land-tax was high as the government had to maintain a heavy bureaucracy and incur huge expenditure on military establishment.[92] The references in the *Deśopadeśa-Narmamālā* to the oppression of the villagers by a large number of revenue officers reveals the nature of onerous taxation.

SULKA

Another important fiscal due mentioned by Kalhaṇa, Kṣemendra and Dāmodaragupta is *Śulka* (tolls and customs). It is referred to in the *Atharvaveda* and earlier law-books as a comprehensive term for customs or octroi duty levied on several articles at the *Śulkasthāna* (a toll-house).[93] The *Śaulkikas* were expected to collect such duties even from courtesans who would sometimes evade payment while moving from one part of the country to the other trading in *Rudrākṣa*. There appear to have been separate officers for collecting these duties. As already referred to, these duties were collected at a *draṅga* where the Customs Officer would have the name of the king stamped in red-lead on the wares [94] Dāmodaragupta records the name of a Collector (*Śaulkikādhyakṣa*).[95] He was the chief of the Customs Office posted on the frontier routes to realise customs-duties on commodities passing through the watch-stations (*draṅga*). According to Fleet the *Śaulkika* is the official title for the Superintendent of tolls or customs.[96] From the *Lokaprakāśa* it appears that a number of persons living in and around a *draṅga* collected state dues on merchandise from the traders and merchants.[97] It appears from the same source that Draṅgapati regulated trade besides collecting the royal share of produce from the cultivators.[98] The narrower technical sense of *Śulka* is illustrated in Maṅkha's lexicon.[99] Among the various usages of the term Maṅkha refers to one meaning. What is payable at the ferries etc. (*ghaṭṭalabhyorgho*) Kṣemendra refers to the ferry-duties and freight for crossing a river.[100] Both *Kuṭṭanīmata* and *Lokaprakāśa* show that *Śulka* comprised the tolls paid at *draṅgas*, the transit duties paid by merchants, and the ferry duties.[101] It appears that the king levied duties on the merchants in order to maintain and protect the roads used for the transport of commodities.[102] As the river transport was the cheapest, the state spent a large amount of money on constructing embankments. It is not unlikely that the income derived from the customs and excise duties was partly spent for this purpose. Both the *Padārthalekhā* and *Śiracīrikā* show that there was a road-tax, besides the ferry-charges.[103]

Though it is difficult to determine the rate of the duties on different articles, it is clear that they were collected both in kind and in cash. The taxes on ghee, honey, pepper, salt and some other articles were usually collected in kind.[104]

The taxes, both in kind and cash were often assigned to local officers.[105] We find that in one case about 50 porters (*bhārikāḥ*) were engaged to carry the above mentioned articles and Dīnāras to the Mārgapati (Excise Inspector).[106] On account of the slow means of communication in ancient Kashmir, the king could not have sent his officers daily to the villages to collect the dues. Naturally a part of these duties had to be assigned to the local officers in lieu of the services rendered by them. We thus come to the conclusion that *śulka* was a royal share of the merchandise brought into or out of a town or river-banks. Owing to its natural boundaries touching several countries in Central Asia[107] there was a considerable inland and foreign trade. This is indicated by the uninterrupted use of Dīnāras in the economy of the state and the instances of saffron dealers growing wealthy.[108] This explains the references to a number of *Śaulkikas* headed by a *Saulkikāahyakṣa* at several *śulkasthānas* and the provision for heavy fines for evading payment of tolls.

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OTHER SOURCES OF INCOME

Another source of king's wealth was from treasure troves, deposits, mines and the digging of salt. The treasure found underground or in a forest exclusively belonged to the king.[109] The legend of Mahāpadma Nāga throws light on the control of the kings over mines.[110] Deposits or buried treasures (*bhūtalanyasta*) were checked by the *Nidhipāla* who scrutinised cases of embezzlement.[111] When the treasure was found by people other than the rightful owners, for example by the members of wild tribes such as the Nāgas, the whole of it was claimed by the king.[112] Nārada's Rules governing treasure troves in Nārada and other Smṛtis seem to have applied to Kashmir too.[113] The salt mines were worked by the state by means of forced labour.[114] The state also enjoyed the sole possession of forests; hence the sale of wood from the great forests of Kashmir formed an important source of state income.[115] It seems that the kings reserved a portion of these forests for breeding elephants and another for selling away timber to citizens for constructional purposes and for games.[116]

Duty seems to have been levied on the woollen cloth industry and the sale and purchase of cattle.[117] When the new city of

Pattan war built by Śaṁkaravarman out of the ruins of Parihāsapura (founded by Lalitāditya), cloth industry and cattle heads were also taxed by the state to make the town economically self-reliant. Kalhaṇa's description of the place as a lively market town indicates that the town must have been a very important centre of trade.[118] But we cannot determine the rate of tax which the cloth merchants and dealers in cattle had to pay. Manufacture of woollen articles and cattle-breeding were important professions in ancient Kashmir and hence were important sources for taxation.[119]

The traders had to bear a tax on their vendible stores (*paṇyadaśā*)[120] at the outer gate of the market (*haṭṭatoraṇa*).[121] It is likely that the shop-keepers had to pay a kind of shop-tax for the site occupied by them in the market place. There were separate sites for different commodities in the market.[122] The mention of 'the share of the lord of the market' *aṭṭapatibhāga* indicates that the state had its own officer or officers for collecting the market dues,[123] a kind of direct tax on market shops, artificers etc., which can be traced back to the *Arthaśāstra*.[124] The state claimed one-fourth share of the sale-proceeds of goods from shop-keepers in the market.[125] The kings imposed some duties for temple services.[126] This is further conformed by the reference to the receipt from the *bhuktīs* of Pārshad Brāhmaṇas by *Gañjadivira*.[127]

RUDHABHARODHI

Though forced or impressed labour is first mentioned in the time of Śaṁkaravarman,[128] the practice possibly existed in earlier times.[129] We get a reference to it in the *Milindapañho*, a text probably of the first century.[130] Kalhaṇa refers to the liability of the villagers to carry the luggage of the touring officers.[131] If a villagers did not come and carry the loads he was fined for one year by the value of the load calculated according to its higher price in that region. The impressed labour, according to Kalhaṇa, was most oppressive and was of thirteen different kinds.[132] The practice of *rūḍhabhāroḍhi* brought misery to the agriculturists who, on account of the rocky soil of the country and in the absence of proper roads, were obliged to work as load-carriers in preference to other means of transport. Villagers who were not obliged to carry loads, were punished by the imposition of this punitive tax.

Even the *Pārisadyas* were expected to pay their tax in labour.[133] It seems that the taxes from the Pāriṣadyas and the spoliation of temples were utilized for the growing expenses on the army.[134] Manu lays down that the king should take free labour from artisans at the rate of one day in the month.[135] But the heavy imposition by the kings of Kashmir, the contributions (*saṅgraha*) for the monthly emoluments of the Skandhakas, *grāmakāyasthās* and various other exactions (*vividhāyāsa*) drove the villagers into poverty.[136] According to *Samayamātṛkā skandhaka* was a kind of *mudrā-dāna* for the sake of a Brāhmaṇa. *Rūḍhabhāroḍhi* and other exactions like *saṅgraha* and *vividhāyāsa* demanded from the villagers not only forced labour but provisions for the large band of royal functionaries.

Exemption from this impost could be obtained by a very special effort like the *Prāya* (a solemn fast) of Brāhmaṇas[137] quite often started against the wrongs of kings. References to this impost is found later in the reign of Harṣa.[138]

The state claimed to be the owner of heirless property. Thus, property without a legitimate heir was liable to be escheated to the state.[139] Some kings disregarded all rules of honourable conduct in seizing the property of those who died without a male issue.[140]

DITYA AND DEYAVADEYA

Another important set of revenue terms in the *Lokaprakāśa* is *ditya* and *deyāvadeya*.[141] According to Mirashi *ditya* was a kind of 'customary present' which the villagers had to offer to the king on the occasion of the birth of a prince or the marriage of a princess. But at another place Mirashi explains *dītya* as land-tax and *dityogrāhaka* as an officer in charge of land revenue.[142] The term *ditya* in the *Lokaprokāśa* fits in more with the sense of a land-tax, and it is likely that *deyāvadeya* was a 'subject of gift' offered to the king on certain ceremonious occasions.

The produce could not be removed from the threshing floor, by the villagers until the state's share had been taken from it. Special watchmen called *khalapālas* were employed at the threshing-floor (*khalas*) to make this practice effective.[143] Further, the kings collected grain in the form of a *saṁbhāra* tax, which possibly was an additional levy on the produce charged from each cultivator. *Saṁbhāra* seems to have been meant for feeding the state-granaries maintained to supply foodgrains in times of extreme distress, as for instance, the threat of famines caused by occasional bad harvests.[144] The state was alive to its responsibilities for feeding people during scarcity and so maintained granaries (*koṣṭhāgāra*) which were under the charge of Koṣṭhādhipati.[145]

RAJASAMVAHANA

Another item of taxation that we come across in the reign of Śaṁkaravarman is *Rājasamvāhana*.[146] The exact implication of this term is not clear. But as the tax is said 'to take away the life of the people', it was oppressive and heavy and was possibly exacted on all kinds of goods of daiiy use - cattle, houses,[147] one's earnings, expenses in touring officers, army etc. The wealth of the cities, houses, villages etc. was taxed and so was incense, oil, sandalwood used for temples, and the receipts there from were illegally appropriated.[148] Woollens, foodgrains etc. were given to the officers in lieu of their salaries and conversion of forced labour into cash payment was made.[149] Kṣemendra in his *Narmamālā* narrates how *diviras* ruined the entire populace by cutting the rations of cows, grass, salt, destroying all the regular and recurring ceremonies etc., snatching sway everything, killing those who opposed punishment or fine.[150] Though the picture has been a little overdrawn, there is no doubt that the 'king's revenues' (*rājasamvāhana*) covered almost all aspects of economic activities and an oppressive king tapped all sorts of sources for realising taxes.

JAYARJITADHANA AND KARA

An important source of income was the tribute kings collected from their feudatories. Kalhaṇa uses the word *kara* in the sense of tribute at many places.[151] This is also supported by references in inscriptions to *kara* or tribute being paid by kings or chiefs to their overlord.[152] Lalitāditya took tributes from the eastern regions (the land between the Gangā and Yamunā called *Antarvedi*).[153] Tributes thus collected were known as 'treasures obtained by conquests' which included both booty and tribute.[154] The kings, after their successful expeditions, were usually surrounded by their tributary chiefs[155] who assembled to the court to show their allegiance to their overlord. The recalcitrant chiefs were brought to submission and after receiving tributes (*kara*) from them the overlords restored to them their territories.[156] The amount of tribute paid by the feudatories was usually not fixed. The feudatory chiefs could be made to pay it regularly if they were weak and the imperial army was strong enough to enforce its payment. Taking advantage of the weakness of the king or his preoccupation with a multiplicity of problems some chiefs withheld the payment of tributes and the king had to march against the chiefs to bring them to book.

GRHAKRTYADHIKARA

The *Gṛhakṛtya* office seems to have been first organised in the time of Śaṁkaravarman (A.D. 893-902). It was a revenue office. As the word relates to the 'affairs of the household', it appears that it collected fees for the state levied at certain domestic rites and rituals, such as marriages, *upanayanas*, etc. Previously, the fees of this kind seem to have been collected by the temples and their priests but a major share of these was now claimed by the state.[157] The head of this office was *Gṛhakṛtyamahattama*[158] who was assisted by five secretaries (*diviras*) and a treasurer (*gañjavara*).[159] They supervised weights and measures, levied imposts on the villagers and collected fines from them.[160]

The intolerable exactions inflicted on the people in the reign of Jayasimha included taxes on auspicious festive occasions (*maṅglyadaṇḍa*).[161] Even the pilgrims performing *Śrāddhas* were taxed.[162] Only a substantial donation would secure exemption from this tax meant for municipal purposes. The managers of Crematorium raised taxes in *dīnāras* for burning the dead.[163]

FINES ETC.

Fines formed another source of state's income. *Bhavalotra* (a fine imposed for theft in villages) is mentioned as one of the items in the Revenue-Roll (*padārthalekhā*).[164] It is known to have continued till late in the middle ages.[165] The fines imposed on the villagers for stolen goods (*lotrarāśi*) was usually assigned to the headman or the village community and was clearly mentioned in the Budget (*śiracīrikā*). Petty cases of theft etc. were locally tried in the Provincial Governor's (*Māṇḍalika's*) court which seems to have been responsible for maintaining law and order in the *rāsṭra* and which imposed punitive taxes on the villagers for theft, robbery etc. on areas falling under its jurisdiction. It seems that these punitive taxes were realised from the owners of land in forests as well.[166] The *Nagarprabhus* (Censors of Morals) collected fines from harlots for violating moral laws prescribed by the State.[167] Al-Bīrūnī's statement that prostitutes were a rich source of royal revenue is supported by our texts.[168] Their moral lapses were strongly censured by the *Nagarprabhu*s who sometimes exposed them to public ridicule.[169] A courtesan laments that she was deprived of three-fourth of her income and was left only one-fourth. This would suggest that the prostitutes were heavily taxed by the state.[170] Even goldsmiths and other artisans were punished by the Government for their fraudulent practices.[171]

TEMPLE-WEALTH

Though the *Arthaśāstra*[172] advises a ruler in times of emergency to make money by setting up oracles and idols and collecting the offerings made to them. We do not have much evidence to show that it was put to a large use by kings. As against this, the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* reveals that a few kings of Kashmir in their greed felt no qualms of conscience in confiscating the property of temples to replenish their treasury and meet the demands of extravagant wars and expenses on the court and palace.[173] Śaṁkaravarman made a systematic spoliation of temple properties and temple corporations (*parṣadas*) and after paying them compensatory allowances, appropriated to himself the profits arising from the sale of incense; sandal wood and othar articles of worship[174] This is an unusual example of a king claiming the share of the selling price even of articles used in religious establishments. But this does not indicate any general right of kings for normal times. During the reign of Parvagupta, Kalhaṇa refers to the inducements given to *Niyogīs* to augment the resources by extra impositions.[175] Under Queen Diddā Sindhu-rāja, the son of a litter-carrier, rose to the position of a *Gañjādhyakṣa* (Lord of the Treasury) and created new imposts and a new revenue office called *Sindhugañja* after him.[176] In the reign of Saṁgrāmarāja, Mataṅga, Sindhu's son, improved upon his father's system to fleece the subjects.[177] King Ananta planned the sacrilegious destruction of divine images.[178] His son and successor, Kalaśa, raised a loan from his subjects when marching against his father.[179] King Harṣa's reign (Kalaśa's son and successor) was a landmark in the revenue history of Kashmir. He carried a wholesale spoliation of temples, destroyed and melted divine images, for which he earned the opprobrious epithet of the "Turuṣka".[180] Gold and other valuable metals, as also other forms of temple property, thus obtained, were credited to the treasury. Harṣa, with a 'perverted mind and exploited by rogues' created a number of new offices, such as those of Prefect for the overthrow of divine images (*devotapāṭanāyaka*) Prefect for Property (*arthanāyaka*) and Prefect for Night Soil (*purīṣasyanāyaka*) for the purpose of increasing the income of the state.[181] The agriculturists were taxed beyond their capacity.[182]

But these are abnormal cases and cannot be taken to refer to the normal theory and practice. Śaṁkaravarman and Harṣa are to be placed in a special category. They were compelled by external troubles on their borders and internal rebellions like that of Uccala, to resort to such desperate acts of iconoclasm and sacrilegious destruction of divine images in the reigns of king Ananta and king Kalaśa.[183] Kalhaṇa condemns such abnormal practices of kings and observes "This foolish (ruler), (namely Śaṁkaravarman), accepted residence in hell for himself, in order to benefit by his sinful acts future kings or functionaries."[184] "Those who are anxious to amass fortunes do not stop from evil actions, though in this world they may have reached riches which are a wonder for all. Thus the elephant, though he is the pleasure seat of Lakshmi (lotus-born goddess), yet somehow falls into the sin of destroying the lotus-tank in his desire to obtain the lotus-flowers."[185] Extra taxes and benevolences, such as *sindhugañja*,[186] *Jayākaragañjā*[187] and *Calagañja*[188] were levied by a few tyrants, but neither Kalhaṇa nor Kṣemendra approve of the new measures which led to the oppression of the villagers. The unusual action of these exceptional tyrants cannot be taken to represent the general policy of the kings. Most of the rulers used to grant *agrahāras* and consecrate shrines in honour of gods. But a few went against the general norm and chose the way of fiscal oppression and defiling of divine images. Most of the cases referred to above relate to periods of unusual occurrences and developments in Kashmir when on account of acute crisis the rulers levied most unjust taxes and made emergency measures a normal feature of their fiscal policy. Though taxation was no doubt heavy, the many fiscal terms in our texts may refer to temporary or emergency taxes. Jayāpīḍa, for instance, under the baneful influence of the Kāyasthas, ordered the appropriation of the whole harvest for three years and the confiscation of the endowed lands (*Agrahāras*) of Brāhmaṇas.[189] We also come across references in the same period to the creation of special funds (*gañjas*) with separate revenues assigned to them and with separate officers implementing the imposition of these new levies.[190] The new items, the *Aṭṭapatibhāga* and the *Gṛhakṛtya*, widened the scope of the state exaction—mostly in the rural folk. The *Aṭṭapatibhāga* meaning literally 'the share of the lord of the market' included a number of direct taxes on market shops, artificers, etc.[191] The unfortunate agriculturists were weighed down by the imposition of a variety of new imposts. Some of the rulers of this period increased the burden of taxation. Though the schedule of taxes was generally drawn up on the basis of the Smṛti rules, increased rates of taxation were resorted to on the plea of emergency or financial stringency.[192] The total tax paid by the agriculturists, including numerous extra dues besides the main land-tax, must have been often oppressive, as is revealed by Kṣemendra in his *Narmamālā*.[193]

Kṣemendra shows that the *Niyogīs* (executive officers with magisterial powers) could enter the house of a peasant, appropriate a portion of raw and ripe crops, salt, cows' milk, ghee, honey, block pepper, ginger, salt, pulses, rams, gamebirds, lotus-stalks, grapes, walnuts; carry off blankets, cash, wine-jugs, peacock-shoes; and seize his blankets and wool, cots, wooden *chaukis,* household utensils, made of brass, copper and iron, grass, chaff etc. The *Niyogī* is compared to an old fish-catcher who comes to devour the rustic fishes.[194]

OWNERSHIP OF LAND

Opinions are sharply divided over the question of the ownership of cultivable land in ancient India. Manu seems to suggest that the king is the owner of the land in so far as he is the owner of the treasures found underground. Bhaṭṭasvāmin, the commentator of the *Arthaśāstra* too rules out private ownership of land.[195] Somadeva, the auther of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* describes the earth as the wife of a particular king.[196] As against these views, we have the definite evidence of Pūrvamīmāṁsa, Nārada and Nīlakaṇṭha who clearly differentiate between the crown lands and private lands.[197] Nārada points out that it would be highly iniquitous if the king were to interfere with the ownership and possession of houses and lands for these are at the base of the existence of husbandmen.[198] Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* supports the view of Nārada.

The story of the leather-maker (*Charmakāra*) and king Candrāpīḍa[199] shows how the ruler did not like to stain his pious work of the construction of the Tribhuvanasvāmi temple by forcibly taking away the tannner's land. In the course of the dialogue between the king and the leather-maker, the latter impresses upon the former tbe sanctity of law and the king's obligation to act the part of a Righteous king (*drṣtāsatā*) by upholding the cause of justice and *dharma*. There is thus conclusive evidence to show that at least from the period of the Kārkoṭas (Circa 600 A.D.) the ownership of private individuals could not be lawfully affected by the action of the state. People could be made to alienate their property and land under the socially recognised usages and the principles of Dharma. They could freely gift away, mortgage or sell their lands.[200] Though the reference to the sale of land (*Vākyavikrayabhūrja*) in the *Lokaprakāśa* is applicable to the transaction of land executed between a Muslims under the Muslim rule, it bears the imprint of an earlier and similar document in use during the ancient period. The sale of land is made in favour of the village elderman (*mahattama-bhūśara*) in the presence of the members of the village council (*mahājanamukhe*).[201] This would suggest that the disposal of a piece of land could be valid only when assented to by the representative body of the village. The price of both land and property was fixed by the village.[202] It is to be noted that on such occasions neither the state nor the village elders could sell lands singly. The presence and permission of both were necessary. The demarcation of land (*nivedita*) by the state officers indicates that the state claimed its customary one-sixth of the proceeds of the transaction according to law. This transaction clearly shows that land was owned by cultivators and not by the state and that the state only received taxes in return for the protection given by it.

It seems that the ownership of land before the Kārkoṭa period was regarded as vested in the whole village community and that the transfer of land as also its value was determined by the entire body of villagers, most probably of agnates and castemen. The tradition of communal ownership of land seems to have presisted even at the time when private ownership of land had been recognized by the society which still claimed its right of assent or dissent at the time of the transfer of a piece of land together with its evaluation. The state could simply claim its share of taxation due from the villagers and most probably had no right to dispossess an individual so long as he paid the land-tax. The hereditary right in land extinguished at the time of sale.[203] The Land-Transaction Deed (*Kriyākāracīrika*) and other documents in the *Lokaprakāśa*[204] reveal that the private individuals enjoyed the right of gifting a piece of land, mortgaging it and selling it without let or hindrance from the state. Private individuals enjoyed the right of permanently transferring their lands and relinquishing their title to their possession. The Brahmadeya lands when transferred gave the new owner the same rights as were enjoyed by its recipient at the time of its donation by the ruler, *viz.* absence of all obstacles in the enjoyment of such transferred lands and payment of all taxes in cash and kind to him and immunity from the interference of the donor's collaterals.[205] This would suggest similar non-interference on behalf of the state in the original donee's land and the immunities enjoyed by him. The title to a piece of land so donated was relinquished without affecting the other fields inherited by the donor.[206] There are several *cīrikās* which refer to the transfer of full ownership in the specified land to the donee, to the exclusion of other fields held by the donor. We have thus enough evidence to prove that in the post-Kārkoṭa period the ownership in cultivable land was vested in private individuals and the state ordinarily did not interfere in it except for the non-payment of the land-tax.

The story of the *Carmakara*[207] and several passages in the *Lokaprakāśa* reveal that land possessed by individuals for an uninterrupted period and according to *Dharma* was considered to be under their ownership and hence their right to sell, mortgage or gift it away.[208] The king, unable to produce any title to the *carmakāra's* land, could not dispossess or deprive him of it even though his officers had come forward with a heavy sum to purchase it from him. It appears that both possession and clear title were required for establishing ownership of a piece of land.

ITEMS OF EXPENDITURE

The classification of the heads of state public expenditure may have been generally the same in almost all the states of northern India during this period, although amounts spent on the various heads may have differed according to the resources and priorities of the state. In the case of Kashmir, topography seems to have played not an inconsiderable part in determining the quantum of expenditure on different heads.

The Revenue-Roll (*Padārthalekhā*) in the *Lokaprakāśa*[209] (enumerating a speciman of the state budget) introduces us to a 'body of expenditure':

1. Expenses for the *Kampanādhipati* and his establishment. As the head of the army in the suburb, he was charged with the duty of securing the borders.
2. Expenses for employment of messengers, *lekhahāras* and spies.
3. The maintenance of the *draṅga*.
4. Expenses for local festivals.
5. The warehouse for merchandise (relating to *Gṛhadhānuṣka*, *sthāvaradhānuṣka* and dealers in *dīnāras*.
6. Māṇḍalika's (District Official's/Provincial Governor's) expenses.
7. Maintenance of Accounts Office (*gaṇanāsthāna*), the Revenue Collectors (*sacivakārakagampaṭisankheśa*), the chief of an army contingent (*senāmukha*).
8. Maintenance of infantry and cavalry.[8]
9. The state herds.
10. Maintenance and repairs of forts, inns, temples, vihāras, *Bauḍha maṭhas*, quadrangular buildings etc.
11. Maintenance of a revenue official (*cuṭakamadhyastha*).
12. Repair of roads (*pathopacāra*).
13. Payment to *divadharma* (person conversant with fiscal laws) in assisting the collection of land-tax.
14. Maintenance of soldiers comprising *Kṣatrapa* etc.
15. Maintenance of village *Pañchāyat* (*dharmāsana*).
16. Expenditure on legal matters of the rural areas (*nyāyācāra*).

REFERENCES

1. *RT* I.118-119.
2. III 5.50-52.
3. *AŚ* II.2; *Śānti Parva* 119.16; *Kāmandaka*, XIII. 33.
4. *TR* VII 343. With reference to sword the verse means 'who would touch a sword which is without a scabbard (*kosa*), though there is strength in its blade (*dhārā*), though its hilt (*vaṁsa*) is good, and though it is spotless (*śucimān*)'.
5. *LP* IV pp. 61-65.
6. *RT* VII 507-8.
7. *RT* IV 592 sqq; see also *GDS* 10.28; *BDS* 1.10.18.1; *AŚ* 1.12; *V.R. Ayodhya* 75·25; *Śānti Parva* 69.24, 25.12 etc.

8. *RT* V 211-212.
9. *Ibid.* V 185.
10. *Ibid* V 210, 178; cf. also *Manu* VIII 307.
11. *KSS* III.5.50.
12. *Ibid.* III 5.52.
13. *Kuṭṭ*. 318; *Mbh*. 12.87.19; *Udyoga*. 34.17.18; *Dh*. 49; *Śānti*. 87.17.18.
14. *Ibid*. 317.
15. *Cf. Ibid*. 12.88.7-8.
16. *Kuṭṭ* 654.
17. *KSS* XII 5.220.
18. *KSS* XIII 1.202.
19. *Ibid.* IX 2.372.
20. See infra. p.
21. *DD*. 2.53.
22. *RT* IV 347; 620 sqq.
23. *Ibid*. V. 184.
24. See *AŚ*. Book VI, Ch. 9; The *Lokaprakāśa* mentions several grades of lands like *Khesitagrahana*, *dvihana*, *saṁsodhana* which indicate the graduated scale of taxation with reference to such lands.
25. *RT* V 165 sqq; VII 1081 sqq.
26. *Manu* VII.133; 189; *LP* p. 68. Such a concession constituted an indirect subsidy of learning and the arts.
27. The king cliamed half of the spiritual merit of the sages and Brāhmaṇas; *BKM*, p. 144, vv. 93-94.
28. *RT* VII; V 167 sqq; VII 1088; *Narm*. 1.1-50.
29. *RT* IV 637 sqq.
30. *LP* Pr. II; *RT* V 169-170.
31. *RT* VII 106.
32. VII 1076-77; 1082-1091; 1512-1518; Prakāśa II and IV *passim*.
33. *Subhāṣitāvalī* 2794, 2841-2842.
34. *Subhāṣita* 2841.
35. *Manu* VII 130-132; *Gaut*. X 24-27; *Āpastamba* ii, 10, 26.9; *Viṣṇu* III 22-25; *Baudhā*. I.10.18.
36. *RT* (Jona) 886.
37. See *LP*, p. 79 where different kinds of messengers are mention ed. *Sadaṅgeya*, *ṣadaṅga*, *saṇṇā*, *ṣadadhvā* etc. indicate

that they were in charge of writing revenue documents for collecting 1/6 revenue.

38. *RT* IV 628.
39. *Ibid*. V 165 sqq; VII 1099 sqq.
40. CII., III p. 254, f.n. 4.
41. *Ibid*. 120, f.n. 1.
42. *SI* I, p. 372, f.n. 7.
43. *Supra*, p.   ; *LP* pp. 20-21, 44; also see *Sak*. Act II, v. 13-14; *AS* II 6, 15, 12, 24 for *lavanabhāga*, *udakabhāga* etc.; *Antiquities*, No. 15, 1.22 (Sungal CP Grant).
44. Ghosal's *Historio*, p. 172; *Landlordism* pp. 63.64.
45. VII 203.
46. *Kuṭṭ* 539.
47. *ELNI*, *op*. *cit*, p. 33 34.
48. *LP* p. 62.
49. *IA* VI, XVI, XVIII, XXV; *EI* II, III, IV, V, X, XI, XVIII.
50. *Manu* VIII 307.
51. *Ibid*. VIII, 307 commenting on it.
52. *EI* I.75, f.n.; *ELNI*, *op*. *cit*., pp. 35-36.
53. CII, IV; cf. *LP*, pp. 15-17.
54. *EI* I.
55. *EI* XXV; *CII* IV; *IE* VIII; cf. *bhukti*.
56. *HRS*, p. 214.
57. *LP* pp. 1 -17, 20-21, 61 etc.
58. cf. Fick, *The Social Organisation*, p. 115; *Raghu* 1.45; V 41; *LP* pp. 62-63.
59. *Nar*. 3.9.
60. *HRS* p. 276 (1972 edition).
61. Zacharia's Ed. XXIX, p. 260 quoted from Fleet, *GI* p. 97 f.n. 6. Fleet has followed the interpretation of Buhler *IA*, XII, p. 189, n. 3.
62. *CII* III, p. 98, f.n. 1.
63. *IEG*, p. 349.
64. *ELNI* p. 41; *JIH* XXXVIII 587-88.
65. *EHNI*, p. 187.
66. Maity, *op*. *cit*. p.85; Stein *RT* Vol. II, p. 399; VII 140 n; VIII 2507 n, 2702; *CPSI*, p. 158; *Samyama*. 2.102. *Sulkasthāna*.

67. *Kuṭṭ* 935.
68. *RT* VII 161-163.
69. *AŚ* II 6.
70. *Kuṭṭ* 936; Supra Ch. VI p. 279.
71. *Ibid*. 935; f.n. (Mitra Prakashan Gaurava Granthamālā-V, Allahabad).
72. Stein, Vol. II (*TR*), p. 399, n. 59.
73. Suka 2.3.
74. *RT* VIII 2010; *IASB*, 1895, pp. 382 sq.
75. *Ibid*. VII 140, 1201.
76. cf. *AS* 2.21.24-26.
77. *LP* pp. 62-63.
78. *Ibid*. p. 62. *drangapativāstvyanivāsinām*.
79. *RT* VIII 1577-78, 2010, 2507, 2702, 2802-03.
80. *Rāshṭrakutas*, p. 214.
81. *LP* pp. 61-65.
82. *ELNI*, p. 42.
83. *Ibid*.
84. *LP*, p. 62-63.
85. For the various interpretations of the term *uparikara*, see CII, III, p. 98, n. 1; *HRS*, pp. 276-77; *JRAS*, 1931, p. 165; Altekar, *Rāshtra*, p. 214.
86. Maity, *op.cit*., pp. 85-86.
87. *LP*, p. 62.
88. *Rāsṭra*; 'land revenue and collected charges included in the class 'country part', which itself forms a branch of a wider division under seven stated heads of revenue'. *HRS* 27 ff.
89. *LP*, p. 62.
90. *Ibid*.
91. *RT* V 109-112.
92. *Ibid*. V 128 sqq.
93. *Samaya* 2.102; 98; *Vas*. XIX, 37; *Gaut*. X 25-26; *Manu* VIII 307; *AV* III 29.3; (S.P. Pandit Vol. II, 495-96). As this fiscal term was used in a general and familiar way, it continued to be in use even during the Sultanate period with only slight variations, pointing out to the almost unbroken continuity of the same taxation system throughout the different periods of this land.

94. Supra, p. 402; Fourth Chronicle, 258; *Śrīv.* 1.5.22; *RT* III 227; V 39; *JASB*, 1895, pp. 382 sqq.
95. *Kuṭṭ* 530; Sircar: *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 363, 366, 368, etc.
96. Fleet. p. 50, 1. 29.
97. Supra, *LP* p. 62.
98. *LP*, pp. 62-64.
99. *Maṅkhakośa* 15.
100. *AKL* XXXVI 31. Hsüan Tsang (Beal) Vol. II, p. 142. He speaks of a small amount being charged at the river-side and at the road-barriers.
101. Cf. Kshīrsvāmin's comm. on the *Amarkoṣa*, 8.28, p. 181; *Manu* VII 307.
102. *LP*. p. 63.
103. *LP*. pp. 61-64.
104. *Narm*. 1.123.
105. *Ibid*. *LP*, pp. 61-64.
106. *Narm*., pp. 316-319.
107. *Hara* 28.V.13, 81—*cīnapiṣṭa* or *sindūra* came from China, see also *cīnāṁsuka* or silk, p. 360.
108. *Samaya* 2.8.98-102.
109. *KSS* III.4.41-42; 162-163; *BKM* 7.545 sqq; p. 571, sl. 374.
110. *RT* IV 593 sqq.
111. *BKM* 7.545 sqq.
112. *RT* IV 593 ff.
113. *Nār*. VII 6-7.
114. *Samaya* 2.91.
115. *RT* VIII 2390; *Hara* V 31.
116. *Ibid*. V 197.
117. *Ibid*. V 162. Woollen industry presupposes the existence of a population devoted to pasture and subsistent on cattle-rearing as one of their professions.
118. *RT* V 156, 213.
119. Cf. *Manu* VII. 130.
120. *Samaya* 6.5; *Viṣṇu Dh. S.* III 29-30.
121. *Samaya*, 2.6; cf. *Panyādhyakṣa* was the Superintendent of Merchandise (*AŚ* II.16, IV 2). Perhaps the traders had to bear a tax of one-tenth on their vendible stores.
122. *Ibid*. 8.51.
123. *RT* V 167 cf. *EI*. III; *IEGI*, p. 128.

124. *Kuṭṭ* 539.
125. *AS* II.16 (*Paṇyādhyakṣa*), 21 (*Śulkādhyakṣa*), 22 (*Śulkavyavahāra*).
126. *RT* VIII 2401.
127. *Narm*. 1.90, 83-87.
128. *RT* V 174.
129. *AKL* Pallava 64.28.
130. *Milinda*, p. 147.
131. *RT* V 172; cf. *Gaut*. X 31-32; *Mbh* XII, 87, 14-15.
132. Supra, Ch. VI, p. 283.
133. *RT* VII 1088.
134. *Ibid*. VII 1089-90.
135. *Manu*. VII. 138.
136. *RT* V 175; *Samaya* 6.15; Narm. 2.98. The Gāhaḍavāla records also refer to a tax called *skandhaka*, *EI* III, 266.
137. *RT* VII 1088; Lawrence also refers to the corrupt and cruel manipulation of *corvee* in ruining Kashmir in *The Valley*, p. 414.
138. *RT* VII 1088.
139. *Ibid*. VII 697; *Śrīv*. 2.136; cf. *Gaut*. 28.41-42; *Vas*. 16.83-87; *Viṣṇu* 17.13-14; *Manu*. 9.188-9; *Yāj*, 2.264; *Bṛhas*, p. 216, V. 119; *Nārada*, 3.16-18; *DD* 72.
140. *RT* VII 696-697.
141. *LP*, pp. 62-63.
142. *CII*, IV, Intro., pp. clxii, cxli.
143. *RT* VIII 1245. It is also not unlikely that *khalapālas* might have been charged with the collection of the artisan's customary share for their services at the harvesting season. This practice still obtains in Kashmir.
144. *Ibid*. VIII 61.
145. *LP*, p. 2.
146. *RT* V 192.
147. *Ibid*. V 167; *Śrīv*. 2.136.
148. Cf. The account of the Sun Temple of Multan by Masūdi who visited the Indus Valley in A.D. 915-916. He says, "The inhabitants of Sind and India perform pilgrimages to it from the most distant places, they carry money, precious stones, aloe-wood and all sorts of perfumes there

to fulfil their vows. The greater part of the revenue of the king of Multan is derived from the rich presents brought to the idol of the pure aloe-wood of Kumar, which is of the finest quality and one man of which is worth 200 dinārs."

149. *RT* V 167 sqq; *Narm.* 1.24-50.
150. *Narm.* 1.25 sqq.
151. *RT* VII 265-267, 991; VIII. 1970.
152. Cf. Allahabad Pillar Inscription 1.22-*sarva-karadānajnā-karaṇa-praṇāmāgamana* etc; see also *AŚ* (tr. Shamasastry), p. 58.
153. *RT* IV 132, 189.
154. *Ibid.* IV 176.
155. *Ibid.* IV 591.
156. *RT* VI 230-232, 353; VII 267.
157. *RT* V 167; VII 42; VIII 1428.
158. *Narm.*
159. *RT* V 177.
160. *Ibid.* V 176.
161. *Ibid.* VIII 1428; cf. *LP* p. 9.
162. *Ibid.* VI 254-55; VII 1008; Archaeological Survey Report, Cunningham III, p. 131; *Epig. Indica* Vol. XX, p. 64; Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, p. 172.
163. *LP*, p. 63 *śamaśānamaṇḍalikabhavalotrakapālakaśavadāhadīnāra.*
164. *LP*, p. 63.
165. *Śrīv.* 2.136. 'The super-tax or fine imposed on villages of pattala, *ghoṣa* etc. in the previous year by other *karindās* was remitted'. If appears that *Lotradaṇḍa* was a fine for theft imposed on the villages, towns etc. and regularly collected by the state.
166. *Jon.* 818; Nizam-ud-din p. 653.
167. *Kuṭṭ.* 400; cf. *Ādi* 134.7; *Kaut.* 2.36. *Nagarādhyakṣa* acted as a civil judge with the help of the jury.
168. Article on *Albērūni* by Habib, *Hindustān Patrika,* 1931, pp. 273-74.
169. *Kuṭṭ.* 400.
170. *Samaya.* 1.29.

171. *Kalā* 8.29.
172. *AŚ*. V, 2.
173. *RT* V 169-170; VII 1085 sqq.
174. *Ibid*. V 168.
175. *RT* VI 136.
176. *Ibid*. VI 264-266.
177. *Ibid*. VII 110.
178. *Ibid*. VII 144, 147, 189-194.
179. *Ibid*. VII 367.
180. *Ibid*. VII 1095; 1089-1101; The *Bṛhas*. 12.61-64; *Nītivākya* 21.14 allow the king to appropriate the temple property in times of emergency.
181. *RT* VII 1072-1107.
182. *Ibid*. 1100-1101—*vāstavyapīḍayā*.
183. *Ibid*. VI 266; VII 144, 147, 189-194, 696-697.
184. *Ibid*. V. 178.
185. *Ibid*. VII 1100-01, 1103, 1108.
186. *Ibid*. VI 266.
187. *RT* VII 125.
188. *Ibid*. IV 588.
189. *Ibid*. IV 620 sqq.
190. *Ibid*. IV 589; VI 266; VII 125-6, 570; VIII 334-37 etc. Also see *bṛhadagañjādhipa* VIII 2423.
191. *RT* V 167.
192. *Br*. 12.61-64; *Nītivākya* 21.14; *HDS* Vol. II, Part I, p. 143.
193. I. 119 sqq.
194. I. 116.
195. *Manu*. VIII 39; *AŚ* Book II Ch. 24; also *Gaut*. XI. 1.
196. *KSS* IV 175-76; VI 194 (Tawney's edition).
197. Sabara, VI.7.3; Ch. XI.42; *Vyavahāramayūkha*, *Svatavāgama* chapter.
198. *Nārada* Ch. XI.42.
199. *RT* IV 55 sqq.
200. *LP* II pp. 39-41.
201. *Ibid*. p. 40; cf. *IA* 1910, p. 214.
202. *Ibid*. p. 41.
203. *LP*, p. 41.
204. *Ibid*. p. 48. sqq; cf. *Gaut*. X. 39; Manu VIII 199.

205. *LP* pp. 49-50. One author of a great mediaeval digest, nāmely Nīlakaṇṭha, the author of *Vyavahāramayūkha*, who lived in the 17th century, says that ownership (*svatva*) is a special capacity produced by purchase, acceptance and the like; *Vyavahāra.*, p. 89.
206. *LP*, pp. 49-50.
207. Supra.
208. *LP* II *passim*.
209. *Ibid.* pp. 62-65.

Conclusion

The literary sources available from Kashmir throw fresh light on several important and obscure points. The State evolved in pre-historic times out of the institution of joint family, and social traditions and atmosphere inspired respect for and evoked obedience to the head of the village and tribe, who acquired the status of chiefs and kings. Force played an important part in the expansion and maintenance of the state. Kinship and force were thus the dominant factors in the origin of the State.

The State was regarded as an organic whole, the *prajā* and *rājā* being interlinked by the chain of *karma*. Though these were the two principal elements, they bore the relation of a father towards their children. The king and his *prajā* were both subject to *Dharma* and through *Daṇḍa* he upheld the social order and punished the wicked. The State did not own any religious beliefs and practices to the exclusion of others. There was no church-state dichotomy nor the Brāhmaṇas ascendancy over the temporal power. The whole problem of political obligation was viewed from the stand-point of *karma* rather than any divine sanction for the collection of taxes in return for protection.

Kingship was elective. Kings could not claim the right of succession simply on the basis of the law of primogeniture. Ministers took a prominent part in the selection of the king and guided the people in making their choice. At a later stage the para-military tribes of Ekāṅgas and Tantrins played a leading role in selecting a king. Fratrilineal succession was known. There does not seem to have been any constitutional bar to the queens taking part in the administration, making land grants on their own authority or functioning as viceroys. The ideal king was dedicated to law and piety like the great god Varuṇa. He was not a split personality. He participated in all important functions and festivals of the people, appreciated theatrical and dramatic performances, managed the marriages of poor girls through State funds, established *sattras, maṭhas* etc. The average king do not seem to have attained the ideal set forth for the realisation of the highest ends of *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*. The steps devised to protect the people from the whims and caprices of the rulers mainly constituted of moral pressure. The most important moral check was the *prāya* (solemn fast) started by Brāhmaṇa *parṣad*s to set the king on the path of rectitude. The subjects' right to depose or kill a tyrant could be exercised by a popular uprising of which there are not many instances.

Ministers combined portfolios, a practice not known in other parts of India. As military commanders their removal was nearly impossible and as selectors of kings their constitutional position important. The *Dvārapati* or the Lord of the Gate was the most important member of the ministry and often the post was combined with that of a *Sarvādhikārin*. Curiously *Smṛti* and *Nīti* writers do not emphasize military leadership and ability in the ministers which in our case was the most essential qualification for a minister. Joint and separate consultation with ministers as required by a particular situation was followed.

The most striking development of our polity was the feudalisation of administration. Apart from the grant of agrahāras to Brāhmaṇas, revenue assignments were made in favour of all civil and military officials, leading to the disintegration of the central power. The pious duty of donating lands as *agrahāras* was also shared by the queens, ministers and other officials who established a number of *maṭhāgrahāras* with permanent endowments which suggests that the officials and ministers must have been holding their own shares of land. They seem to have identified such endowments with a duty of good government thereby calling down upon their people the dew of heavenly blessing. There were land grants for military service also and the billeting of soldiers on the rural population. The hereditary character of the offices of *Rājasthānīya*, Ṭhakkuras, etc. points to the widespread practice of land-grants and the process of sub-infeudation started by them. A characteristic feature of our feudal polity is that money was never wholly absent from business transactions. But in the absence of a sufficiently active and regular commerce, its circulation was too slow and too irregular.

The State levied taxes and corvee (*rūḍhabhārodhi)*. Even the brāhmaṇas who were not learned and did not perform sacrifices were subject to it. The land was the principal source of income, but the rate of assessment is not specified. Various types of taxes—*bhāga*, *bhoga*, *deya-avadeya* and *ditya* are mentioned. Treasure troves, deposits, mines, the sale of wood from forests, duty on the woollen cloth and sale of cattle, were additional sources of income. The state claimed on fourth of the sale proceeds of produce and merchandise from the markets called the *aṭṭapatibhāga* and *śulka* at the customs-houses. From the ninth century onwards when feudal tendencies were further strengthened, the heavy imposts and contributions from villagers were earmarked for the emoluments of *Skandakas* and *Grāmakāyasthas*. Thirteen unspecified kinds of forced labour were claimed from the villagers and a heavy bureaucracy of clerical and revenue staff was maintained on their earnings. Rājasamvāhana perhaps included taxes on a variety of goods of daily use. Tributes from vassals and subordinate states, fines, succession to heirless property, *maṅgalyadaṇḍa* on marriages and *upanayanas* were other sources of income.

Communal ownership of land was gradually dying out. The state claimed one sixth of the proceeds of the sale transaction of land according to law. The creation of several *gañjas* or funds points to the emergency taxes and benevolences. The incidence of taxation on the agriculturists must have been very oppressive.

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Appendix I

THE DAMARAS

The Dāmaras are for the first time mentioned in the reign of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa.[1] The ministers received a directive regarding the administration of their country which may be reproduced below: 'Those who wish to be powerful in this land, must always guard against internal dissension. Because of foreign enemies (*paraloka*) they are as little in fear as the Cārvākas of the world beyond (*paraloka*). Those who dwell here in mountain caves (*gahvaravāsinaḥ*), should be punished, even if they give no offence; because sheltered by their impregnable fortresses (*durgasaṁśriyaḥ*) they are difficult to break up once they have accumulated wealth. Every care should be taken that there should not be left with the villagers more food supply than required for one year's consumption, nor more oxen than wanted for the tillage of their fields. Because if they should keep more wealth, they would become in a single year very formidable *Dāmaras* and strong enough to neglect the commands of the king. When once the villagers obtain clothes, women, woollen blankets, food, ornaments, horses, houses, such as are fit for the town; when the kings in madness neglect the defence of the fortresses; when their servants show want of discrimination; when the keep of the troops is raised from a single district; when the officials are closely drawn together by the bonds of intermarriage; when the kings look into the offices as if they were clerks (*kāyastha*), then a change for the worse in the subjects' fortune may be known for certain."[2] We are told how Jayyaka, the resourceful son of a husbandman at the village of Selyapura (the present 'Silipōr in Dunts) had gradually raised himself to the position of Dāmara.[3] By the revenues (*sthalotpati*) of his land and by selling victuals as a trader to far off regions, he had accumulated exceptional wealth which he kept safe by having heaps of *dīnāras* buried in the soil and then had rice plentifully sown over it.[4] Another Dāmara of Pratāpapura (the modern Tāpar) is represented as man of means residing in a house that is a place of comfort and plenty.[5] These and other references seem to have led Kern and Stein to assign to Dāmaras the meaning 'Bojar', *i.e.* feudal landowner or baron. Before we examine this interpretation, it is important to know who these Dāmaras were and what made them play an important role in the polity of Kashmir.

The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* refers to the countries and the tribes inhabiting the different regions and names *Meruka Naṣṭarājya*, *Paśupāla*, *Kīca*, Kāshmīra, *Darada*, Tangana, Kuluta, Sairindhra Vanarāṣtra, Brahmapura, Dārvaḍāmara, Vanarājya, Kirāta, Cīna, Kauṇinda, Bhalla, Patola, Jaṭāsura, Kunata, Khasa, Ghoṣa, Kucika, Ekacaraṇa, Anuviddha, Suvarṇabhū, Vasudhana, Diviṣṭha, Paurva, Cīranivāsin (residents), Trinetra, Munjādri, Gandharva—as territories lying in the north-east division.[6] Some of the tribes mentioned in the list are referred to in the *Nīlamata Purāṇa*[7] and by Kalhaṇa, amongst whom Darads, Dārvaḍāmaras, Kirātas, Khaśas have received special notice. Dārvābhisāra was the territory of Dārvas and Abhisāras between the Vitastā and the Candrabhāga and in the earlier period the winter capital of the kings of Kashmir.[8] To this region belonged the horse traders who had set up independent principalities with extensive villages.[9] Dāmaras too belonged to the same territorial belt and they seem to have had a strong incentive for trade. They must have existed from the fifth century of the Christian era as they are found in the *Bṛhatsaṁhita*. Agrawala says that the country of the mountaineers extended from Kashmir to Afghanistan and most of the people settled in these mountains and their valleys were of the *āyudhajīvin* class.[10] It would not be wrong to assume that most of the Dāmaras who lived on arms like the Khaśas and other tribes, spread out in due course of time and took up their residence near the foot-hills of Kashmir, hoping to find fields to cultivate.[11] This is partially corroborated by the *Lokaprakāśa* where occurs the term *ḍāmaraviṣaya*,[12] (the district of the Ḍāmaras). This suggests that the tribesmen formed their own bands to challenge the central authority like *Dāmaraviṣaya*. From the same source we have a list of the names of *ḍāmarapatis* which includes Ḍāmara, ḍāmarādhipati, Tantrapati, Mantrapati, Śāstraddhāraka, Sellahadārapati, Prattapratihāra, Sauraṇgika, Bhopratihāra, Lāpratihāra, Bhagavat-śālīya, Bhagavataparipālaka, Koṣṭādhipati, Korākṣikā, Gañjavara, Gañjādhipati, Dauvārika, Sūpakāra, Lekhahāra Pratihāra.[13] They appear as local chiefs with their own followers and retained the original appellation of the ancestral homeland.[14] In their own *viṣayas* they possibly enjoyed independent status and formed martial *siṅghas* of twenty free from the interference of the central power.[15] They were the same as *samghāh giricāriṇah* and *girigahvaravāsinah*[16] whose seats of residence are called *upaveśana*[17] (fortified castles). The tradition of *Koṭṭarājyas* or lords of fortified castles is still remembered in many villages of Kashmir which indicates that at one time the country was divided into small chieftainships, possibly referring to the territorial divisions called *ḍāmarāviṣava* whose head was a *ḍāmarapati*.

The *Lokaprakāśa* mentions two categories of tenants, *viz*., *grhadhānuṣka* (temporary tenants) and *sthāvaradhānuṣka* (permanent tenants), both armed with bows.[18] Since the Ḍāmaras are represented as very good archers, it is likely that some of them took service in *agrahāra* lands which they ravaged so often. There were two alternative methods of remuneration for their services: one was to take the man into one's household, to feed and clothe him (*grhadhānuṣka*). The other was to grant him a few strips of land which, if exploited directly, would enable him to provide for himself (*sthāvaradhānuṣka*). Both categories of tenants carried arms, possibly because of their tribal traditions or on account of the outlying forest belts which they brought under cultivation and which needed protection against wild animals. The method of payment tended to create human ties very different from each other. Between the *grhadhānuṣka* and the landed beneficiary the bond must have been much more intimate than between a *sthāvara-dhānuṣka* and the master. As soon as he was settled on a piece of land, he tended increasingly to regard it as his own, while trying to reduce the burden of services.[19]

The Ḍāmaras, even after their settlement in villages, had not totally shed their tribal characteristics revealed by the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and the *Samayamātṛkā* of Kṣemendra. Kalhaṇa frequently refers to them as freebooters (*dasyu ḍāmara*)[20] which also indicates their opposition to the central authority. Their customs of marriage were still tribal.[21] Kalhaṇa praises a Ḍāmara woman becoming a Satī.[22] King Cakravarman, after losing his throne went to the *upaveśana* of Ḍāmara Saṁgrāma to seek his help. The Ḍāmara pledges his support to the king by placing their foot on sheepskin sprinkled with blood and mutually taking an oath by sacred libation (*kośa*) sword in hand.[23] Kṣemendra represents Ḍāmara Samarasiṁha as another Bhīmasena, full of fighting spirit and quarrelsome.[24] Their tribal customs could not be assimilated. They took to loot and plunder, sparing not even the *agrahāra* lands.[25] Their pillaging activities indicate that they were a fierce intractable tribe,[26] inhabiting the mountains to the north of Kashnir. The possible etymology of the word suggests a more general meaning 'riotous, rebel'.[27] The *Uḍḍāmareśvara Tantra*[28] suggests that the *gaṇas* of Śiva got the appellation of *ḍāmara* from their riotous nature. From the geographical distribution of *Saṁghas* in Pāṇini, we can suggest that the Ḍāmaras too were spread over the area between the Jhelum and the Cināb before they occupied the *uḍḍars* (karewas of lacustrine deposits) in the Kashmir valley.[29] Because of their strong tribal propensities they frequently carried off the whole harvest of temple lands and outside the city seized the produce of the people.[30] Dhanva, a powerful Ḍāmara of the district Lohara (present Lār), appropriated the villages forming the Bhūteśvara temple's endowments. When repeatedly summoned by the king, he came accompanied by a host of armed attendants.[31] The Ḍāmaras as a class seem to have been still pledged to obey the commands of their tribal leader under whose leadership they would go forth to occupy other *upaveśaṇas*. They seem to have forcibly occupied the temple land with impunity. With the growth of population they spread beyond their limited areas, slowly increased their power and took to loot and plunder.[32] In this process they became richer and more powerful. Kalhaṇa speaks of the Ḍāmaras in very disparaging terms. We learn from him that they lived outside the city and were far inferior in status as compared to the Rājputs and Kṣatriyas. Their mutual feuds and internecine warfare brought untold suffering to the people. From the time of Cakravarman's restoration in A.D. 935 and during the Lohara period A.D. 1003-1089 they played a crucial role in the politics of Kashmir, often acting as "king-makers". Gargacandra of Lohara (Lār), Pṛthvīhara and his sons, Ḍāmaras of Sāmala (Hamal) Tikka of Devasarasa (Divasar), Mallakoṣthaka of Lohara, and Nāga of Khūyāśrama (Khuyahom) seem to have virtually held Srinagar in a state of siege.

Another important tribal section of the rural population of Kashmir was the Lavanyas. They also played a great part in the polity of Kashmir. The frequent troubles caused by them are related at length in Books VII and VIII of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. They are indiscriminately referred to as Ḍāmaras[33] and are associated with Lohara (modern Lār).[34] Both are shown as suffering terrible persecution at the hands of king Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101).[35] The modern 'Krām' names of *Dāṅgar* and *Lūn* survive even today. Most of them are agriculturists and their customs, occupation etc. are not much different from the other sections of the rural population. All these facts suggest that the Ḍāmaras and Lavanyas were a class of peasantry, bearing arms and carrying on trade on a small scale in wool, horses, oxen, salt, saffron etc.[36] The resemble the *Ayudhajīvins* of Pāṇini or *vārtāśastropajīvins* of Kauṭilya[37] who took to agriculture and commerce besides the use of their arms. Like the Yaudheyas[38] who were a warrior class, the Ḍāmaras too lived on arms and like them seem to have become quite rich as an *āyudhajīvisaṁgha*. It seems that the *Dāmara* of Kashmir had close commercial links with these republican communities and like them enjoyed economic prosperity.

Thus we see that the Ḍāmaras were an *Ayudhajīvi Sangha* of Parvata (mountainous country)[39] who earned their livelihood by arms. As they migrated to the foothills of Kashmir they adopted agriculture and trade. They were organised in a *Saṁgha* the numerical strength of which was twenty.[40] They took to depradation and violence.[41]

The question that now arises is: what led to their predominance in the land? We do not hear of them before the Kārkoṭas when possibly they existed as small farm-owners with restricted by means. The irrigation operations of Lalitāditya followed by those of Avantivarman resulted in surplus production, lowering of grain prices with great increase in village settlements and concentration of wealth in a few hands for each small group of villages. Unlike other parts of India climate prohibited Kashmir to have a closed economy (autarky) and the idea of a self-sufficient village. The need to import trade goods, especially salt and metals in exchange for foodgrains and wool seems to have made the Ḍāmaras a dominant factor in the economy of Kashmir. Before the advent of the Kārkoṭas and even during the early years of Lalitāditya's reign Kashmir had a brisk trade with central Asia. The trade routes leading to china were controlled by the Kārkoṭas.[42] But the northern expeditions of Lalitāditya, the incursions of the Arabs and the expansionism of Tibet[43] indicate that these were gradually slipping out of her grasp in an attempt to restore which Lalitāditya seems to have met with his end in his northern expeditions. These developments on the borders of Kashmir forced her rulers to fall back on their own resources and diverted the energies of the Ḍāmaras more and more towards local markets. This graph of economic activity, sliding in a downward curve, made the rulers and the Ḍāmaras exercise more and more pressure on land and consequently led to the impoverishment of the villagers.

With extensive water-works in the reign of Avantivarman the conflict came to the surface and the king attempted to coerce the Ḍāmaras into submission by killing one of their chiefs. The Ḍāmaras possibly expropriated the surplus for trade and withheld the supply of foodgrains and essential goods in times of scarcity and famine. Thus they appropriated a large number of villages, including the *agrahāra* lands. That is what seems to have compelled Jayāpīda earlier to resume *agrahāra* lands and also appropriate the cultivators' share for three successive years.[44] Thereafter we find Śaṁkaravarman establishing the two officers of *Aṭṭapatibhāga* ('the share of the lord of the market') and *Gṛhakṛtya* (Home Department) to realize state dues.[45] It was not because of any antipathy to the brāhmaṇas as a class that Jayāpīḍa and Saṁkaravarman adopted these measures. The aim was to curb the growing power of the Ḍāmaras who were continually accumulating a surplus and diverting it to trade to balance payments for imports. The climax of this protracted struggle was reached in the time of Harṣa who, in a bid to exterminate the Ḍāmaras, met with his own end. The resourcefulness of the Ḍāmaras led to an ever increasing surplus in their hands with corresponding diminution of revenue to the central power for maintaining the army and a costly state apparatus.[46] As this could not continue for ever, we find rulers despoiling temples to make up their diminishing resources. Lalitāditya took one crore from the Bhuteśa shrine.[47] Jayāpīḍa confiscated *agrahāras*,[48] Śaṁkaravarman plundered numerous temples[49] and Harṣa did not hesitate to melt the images of gods and persecute the Ḍāmaras following a terrible famine.[50] No theological controversies were involved, no sectarian motives attributed, no caste-labels lost. The economic crisis precipitated the struggle which either assumed the shape of sporadic raids of the Ḍāmaras on the city or the alignment with pretenders to improve their economic prospects and finally to enter the ranks of the landed nobility of the brāhmaṇas, the ṭhakkuras etc. But neither their inroads nor the intermittent wars of succession helped the Ḍāmaras to win for themselves the status of the nobility. In this respect the conflict was analogous to that of the European middle class which, on the eve of the French Revolution, aspired to attain, but without any appreciable success, the social position of the gentry with all its economic advantages. All that the Ḍāmaras could achieve was their partial absorption in salaried services and their matrimonial alliances with some kings.[51] But these advantages could not secure them social recognition and they came to be looked upon as roving bands of predatory local chiefs[52] with whom the kings came into conflict. Kalhaṇa sets them apart from the brave scions of the *Sāmantas* and Kashmir soldiers whom they join in an internal uprising.[53]

However, the anarchy that set in following the turbulence and raids of the Ḍāmaras strengthened the framework of feudal system. The invasions of foreign tribes led to a feudal complex in mediaeval Europe[54] and the same process was achieved by the incessant pillages of the Ḍāmaras in Kashmir. From the *Kuṭṭanīmata* we learn that a class of Ṭhakkuras arose in the time of Jayāpīḍa.[55] According to Kalhaṇa it was a small nobility, presumably Rājputs from the hill territories to the south of Kashmir.[56] Dāmodaragupta informs us that the recipient of this honour was endowed with extensive villages and entitled to the collection of *udranga* (land-tax). He was expected to maintain a contingent of cavalry and foot-soldiers.[57] We have here a clear instance of a feudal baron with military obligations to the State. Jayāpīḍa's confrontation with the brāhmaṇas possibly brought him into a clash with the Ḍāmaras who cultivated the agrahāra lands as well. This must have made the organisation of a feudal levy essential and accounts for the rise of the Ṭhakkuras[58] as a class of feudatories. They served the king and acted as his advisers. Kalhaṇa tells us that when Harṣadeva had been thrown into a fresh prison in the *Catuḥstambha* (hall of four columns) and in his grief refused to take food, he was induced with difficulty by the requests of the Ṭhakkuras to do so.[59] They fought against his rival Utkarṣa.[60] Ṭhakkuras were sent to retake Lohara for Jayasiṁha[61] whose half-brother Mallārjuna had a precarious hold there in the face of the heavy odds of unbroken ḍāmaras.

The organisation of the Ekāṅgas[62] and the mode of their payment show how feudalism was engendered by the inroads of the Ḍāmaras. This para-military group is mentioned along with the Sāmantas, ministers, Tāntrins and Kāyasthas.[63] Their association with the *Akṣapaṭala* office reveals that they supported the civil authorities in the collection of income from land, customs duties etc.[64] The played an effective role in the affairs of the court and state. As the resources of the state had started dwindling, the support of the Ekāṅgas was essential to ensure a steady and regular supply of income. Their attendance upon the king and the ever-growing need of defence[65] made the weak central power rely more and more upon them. Kalhaṇa shows how they protected king Anantadeva with equal devotion against a pretender and the onslaught of the Dāmaras for which they were freed from the harassing service at the Akṣapatala.[66] A fixed land assignment (*vilabdhisthāvara*)[67] reckoned at ninety-six crores of *Dīnāras* was made in their favour. We feel that was the assignment of the *udraṅga* made in favour of Ṭhakkuras. If this interpretation be accepted we can say that Tāntrins (the foot-soldiers) too must have been similarly paid in revenue-assignments. They formed a strong confederacy and the internal troubles of Kashmir between A.D. 906 and 936 considerably enhanced their power to punish or to favour the kings.[68] Even the powerful queens Sugandhā and Diddā were dependent upon them. This suggests that they derived their power from local strength and, like the Ekāṅgas, were remunerated by land-assignments. They too were pitted against the Ḍāmaras. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* records how in a hotly contested battle with Ḍāmaras near Padmapura (present Pāmpor) a large number of Tāntrins was slaughtered.[69] The Sāmantas, probably from the neighbourhood of the valley, served as a counterpoise against the turbulent Ḍāmaras. They were not the feudatories but the neighbouring chiefs remunerated in land assignments, called in to quell internal disorder.[70]

The Ḍāmaras always appear in the role of an opposition to central authority. The deposed Cakravarman had to seek the assistance of these local chiefs in recovering his throne from the treacherous brothers Śaṁkaravardhana, the Superintendent of the Treasury (*Akṣapaṭalādhīśa*) and Sambhuvardhana, sons of the minister Meruvardhana.[71]

Thus the weakening of the central authority and the internal troubles emboldened the independent local chiefs, the Ḍāmaras, to play as 'king-makers', one faction playing father against his son (as in the case of Anantadeva and Kalaśa), and other factions setting up pretenders.[72] Treason played no small part in this turmoil. The ambitious commanders in chief sought the support of the Ḍāmaras to deprive kings of their thrones.[73] The hosts of Rājaputras, horsemen, and soldiers do not have a better record to show. Kalhaṇa bewails the plundering of the land by the Ḍāmaras and the official tyranny of the Kāyasthas.[74]

Stein regards the Ḍāmaras as semi-independent feudal lords.[75] The view is shared by Kosambi who says that the Ḍāmaras were feudal lords who held land as feudal property.[76] Stein argues that the position of the Ḍāmaras was not necessarily restricted to a particular tribal division or set of families. The status of a Ḍāmara was acquired by exceptional wealth apart from his direct inheritance. Kosambi says that the 'Ḍāmaras were armed, owned villages, had their own fortified strongholds. Such an establishment could not be maintained without collecting some dues from villagers; there would have been no conflict with the centre if a reasonable share had been passed on.[77]

The two scholars are agreed on the point that it was the exceptional wealth of the Ḍāmaras that made them formidable and difficult to control, and because they possessed armed bands of followers. There can be no disagreement on this point. Even Kalhana refers to the wealth of these mountain dwellers and the surplus following from the possession of extra foodgrains and a number of oxen which they seem to have traded in with other parts of Kashmir and India.[78] But it is difficult to agree with Kosambi when he says that 'they formed the equivalent of feudal barons far more than the *sāmantas*, mentioned on occasion, who cannot have been tributary kings as elsewhere in classical Sanskrit but were barons created by the court as counterpoise to the Ḍāmaras, as perhaps were the titulary Ṭhakkuras'. It is true that the *Sāmantas* and Ṭhakkuras owed their position to the king but the chronicle nowhere mentions the same status of Ḍāmaras in whose favour Stein quotes a passage from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* to show that they were feudal lords.[79] He himself admits that 'they (Ḍāmaras) leave us in the dark as to the conditions under which their landed property, the basis of their influence, was acquired and held. If we compare the conditions prevailing in other parts of India where a similar class of landed aristocracy is still extant, the view suggests itself that a kind of service-tenure, the grant of land in return for military or other services, may have been the original foundation of the system. Yet even as regards this point the absence of all exact data prevents us from going beyond mere conjecture. Still less can we hope to ascertain the exact relations in which the Ḍāmaras may have stood towards their sovereign and towards the cultivators in matters of revenue, administration, etc.[80] Kosambi tries to meet this difficulty partially by suggesting that 'in India there arose a class of armed barons who expropriated the surplus for trade; in Kashmir the man who had the surplus acquired more wealth by trade, took to arms and turned into a Ḍāmara'.

The argument that the Ḍāmaras had the surplus for trade to acquire more wealth is not tenable. The Ḍāmaras got this surplus by virtue of their being good business managers. They are said to have sold victuals to far off regions. They possibly sold off the surplus of the cultivators of one region to the other and the produce of other areas to other cultivators. In the process they acquired considerable gains and often withheld this surplus in times of scarcity or famine, thus virtually controlling the economic activities of the peasants living in different areas. It was not possible for cultivators to come into direct contact because of difficulties of transport and time consumed in exchanging commodities. The clever Ḍāmara, to save the time of both, undertook to supply foodgrains and through his manipulation controlled the activities of both. Secondly, the Ḍāmara possibly raised cash-crops like saffron easy to transport[81] his karewa-soil and in return earned the *dīnaras* to balance the payment of imports. Thirdly, as more and more *agrahāras* were donated, more and more surplus seems to have come into his hands through the tenants, most of whom were his followers. If he met with any opposition, he straight away plundered the temple lands, carrying off the whole harvest. Fourthly, his subsistence on arms helped him to loot and plunder the kings as a mercenary soldier, exploiting their troubles arising from frequent wars of succession. His main strength lay in the profession of arms. As an autonomous chief on the outskirts of the valley, he made capital out of political upheavals in the land. The brāhmaṇas were not able to maintain support for class-divisions as they had succeeded in doing in other parts of India. The rigours of caste-structure had been loosened under a long period of Buddhist impact. So the brāhmaṇas failed in curbing their violence. Earlier they had succeeded in wooing the Nāgas and adjusting the Nāga rituals to brāhmaṇical practices. But now religion failed to reconcile the mutually opposing economic interests. There was no theological appeal. Neither had a landed beneficiary any armed force of tenants to check their depredations. Fifthly, the strongholds of Ḍāmaras power and influence, namely their fortified castles were inpregnable and the weak rulers of Kashmir could not open hostilities with them.[82] The Central power was too slow to move rapidly to protect distant places against tribal or robber attack, the mobilisation of forces being too costly to strain the old resources. Thus the financial bankruptcy of the State, dissensions, corrupt bureaucracy and the rise of pretenders contributed to the rise of the Ḍāmaras. These local chiefs who were bands of war-like roving aboriginal tribes, came into conflict with the kings of Kashmir and lived by violence. There was a close resemblance with the *Vrātas* who too indulged in depredation or physical violence[83] and lived by it or by bodily labour. Kalhaṇa observes that the misfortunes of a king stem from the old officials out of employment, the numberless *soi-disant* princes in the royal palace, wicked soldiers, merchants who have embezzled deposits, the brāhmaṇas of the *pariṣadas* expert in arranging solemn fasts, the armed Ḍāmaras, though they look more like cultivators, from the environs of the city and those who indulge in sedition.[84] Kalhaṇa would not have missed to hint at the feudal character of these Ḍāmaras in one form or another whose opposition to the Central authority and depredations constitute the chief motif of the history of Kashmir from the time of Cakravarman to the end of Jayasiṁha's reign. He does not mention any hierarchy of the supposed feudal Ḍāmaras to constitute a single unit. Even a critic like Kṣemendra does not dwell upon their landed estates or service tenure, though he mentions the oppression and tyranny of other contemporary social groups. Kalhaṇa refers to the strongholds of Ḍāmaras in *Nīlāśva* (place not identified), Khadvwi and Samala whose topography points out the nature of these *Karewas* (lacustrine deposts) suitable for the cultivation of saffron which possibly tended to increase their resourcefulness in trade and their exchange earnings. There is not a single reference to determine their service-tenure as 'feudal barons' nor their relation to administration. Our records are silent about the relations of the king and Dāmaras towards the matters of revenue and administration of any fief. In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* they appear as cultivators with a strong element of freebooting expeditions. Their permanent settlements were confined to certain tribal areas, sheltered by impregnable fortresses which Kalhaṇa advises are to be checked, even if they give no offence. The whole passage[85] relates to Dāmaras and shows that as dictated by topography their strength lay in mountain fastnesses, petty agriculture and accumulation of more wealth by trade. They could not have survived on land alone. As *śastropajīvins* they used arms for their own use and for loot and plunder. In the process they became rich and powerful. Had they been feudal barons they would have been under certain obligations. If Khaśas could rise to power[86] and a Śhāhi princess Didda could rule in her own right, there is no reason why Dāmaras should not have done so. Possibly because of their criminal tendencies and violent nature, they could not be integrated in the society and so there was no acculturation. They could not hold any office of trust in administration; though temporarily they succeeded in raising Bhikṣu to the throne and letting loose a reign of violence and terror.[87] We do not have any instance when their protection was sought by the villagers and feudalism could start from below. There was no process of commendation to any Ḍāmara chief who could have offered protection[88] to villagers against the unjust exactions of the state by meeting on their behalf any demand made by kings. Therefore, the contention of Kosambi that 'there would have been no conflict with the centre if a reasonable share of the dues collected from the villagers had been passed on is untenable.[89]

Thus there is nothing to suggest that the Ḍāmaras were feudal lords. Except a single reference to an agreement between King Cakravarman and Dāmara Saṁgrāma,[90] there is nothing to show any contractual relationship between the two. Even this agreement shows that in the past the Dāmaras had suffered persecution at the hands of kings and placed little reliance on their word.[91] They discounted the strength of the Tantrin foot-soldiers and were conscious of their own.[92] This shows that they did not hold any service-tenure or grant of land for military and other services. This is supported by the remark of Kalhaṇa that the land had been plundered by the Dāmaras.[93] Not even Cakravarman who was beholden to them enfeoffed them as he did in the case of Raṇga, a Domba dancer. They are not shown rendering any military service to their overlord on his expeditions abroad. They appear in the role of such local chiefs as participated in Civil strifes or wars of succession. All this militates against the feudal character of the Dāmaras. We do not see them accompanying any king on his foreign expeditions.

They were local chiefs with their own followers, strongly entrenched in their own castles (*upaveśana*). In their own *Viṣayas* they enjoyed virtually independent status and kings of Kashmir could not dislodge them as their strongholds provided a network of defence.[94] The Dāmaras seems to have been tribal chiefs gradually transforming themselves into settled communities. We have the instances of the Rohillas of Bundelkhand who, in the face of a strong centralised Mughal power, harassed the kingdom and carried off the royal treasures. Goswamis are another such instance. Similar tendencies are in evidence in the case of the Dāmaras who lived as free-booters under their local chiefs and gradually settled in an agrarian society. They owed their strength to their tribal confederacy. They grabbed lands, carried off harvests. By trading in victuals and cash-crops like saffron (*crocus sativus*) they raised a surplus to balance payments against imports. They seem to have controlled the economy of the State for over two hundred years when foreign trade had suffered a set-back and the territorial limits of Kashmir had shrunk to the small valley. The Dāmaras had greater mobility and resourcefulness. They wanted to maintain their independence. The centre wanted to dominate over them and in the attempt to keep their own existence and freedom they clashed with it. Hence we have the interplay of the two tendencies—the centre trying to be strong and the Dāmaras eager to preserve their autonomy. A strong centre would prevail upon them, but a weak centre would repeat their pillaging activities. However, their significant contribution lies in the fact that they accelerated the process of the feudalisation of administration,[95] without forming a part of its apparatus. If the Khaśas and other tribes failed to do so, the reason is obvious. They were on the periphery of the kingdom and never made their way into the heartland. Had the Khaśas been placed under similar circumstances, we would have another class of Dāmaras for the central authority to contend with.

REFERENCES

1. *RT* IV 348.
2. *RT* IV 345-352.
3. *Ibid.* VII 494.
4. *Ibid* VII 495-497. Money was never wholly absent from business transactions in feudal Kashmir, even among the peasant classes. It never ceased to be employed as a standard of exchange. Payments were made in produce which was normally valued in *dīnāras* (*LP* IV).
5. *Samaya.* II 21 sqq.
6. *Bṛhats* vv 29-31, pp. 118-122; Albērūnī I 303.
7. 80 sqq. (Vreese ed.)
8. *RT* I 180.
9. *Ibid.* IV 712.
10. *India as known to Pāṇini* (2nd ed. 1963, Varanasi), p. 437.
11. *RT* VIII 709; *Bhīsmaparva,* 9.68 especially mentions the *Girigahvaras*, dwellers of mountain caves, as a people of the north-west; cf. *Pratīchyāḥ Parvatīyaḥ, Udyoga,* 30, 24.
12. IV. p. 60; There seems to have been a practice of constituting a *visaya* after the control of some tribe or conqueror over it. cf. Turuskaviṣaya (*RT* VIII 3346); Takkavisaya (*RT* VIII 1091), *Bhūbharta* seems to have been the governor of *Takkaviṣaya*.
13. *Ibid.* I p. 2.
14. *Ashṭādhyāyī* IV 3.91 *Ayudhajīvibhyaschhah parvate; so'syābhijana iti vartate, kāsikā.*
15. See ante; VIII 807, 800, 1002.
16. *Mbh. Droṇa,* 93.48; *RT* VIII 855-858, 2934.
17. *RT* VIII 929, 1070.
18. II, pp. 13, 44, 48.

19. *RT* VIII 709.
20. *Ibid.* VIII *passim*; V 406 *ḍāmarataskarāḥ.*
21. *Ibid.* VIII 2334-2338.
22. *Ibid.* 2339-2343.
23. *Ibid* V 306 sqq.
24. *Samaya.* II 21 sqq.
25. *RT* VIII 768 sqq.
26. *Essay*, pp. 51, 70 sqq; *RT* VII 1302, 1335, 1360; VIII 755.
27. P.W. III, p. 185.
28. *passim.*
29. That the *karewas* were the first settlements of these tribal people is supported by a few references in the *Rājataranginī. Nilāsvaḍāmara* and other *ḍāmaras* referred to in association with the specific districts clearly points to these karewas and *uḍḍars* occupied by them (*RT* VIII 3115).
30. *RT* VIII 1207 sqq.
31. *Ibid.* V 48 sqq.
32. *Jon.* 96, 97.
33. *RT* VII passim (1227 sqq.)
34. *Ibid.* 1171.
35. *Ibid.* VII 1227-1243.
36. *RT* VIII 709. They look like cultivators, though they carry arms.

    The possession of karewa lands must have helped the Dāmaras to raise saffron (*crocus sativas*) which was a highly prized commodity of export in those times.
37. Agrawal: *India as known to Pāṇini*, pp. 436 sqq; Agnihotri: *Patanjali kāleen Bhārata* (Bihar Rasra Bhasa Parisad, Patna 1963), pp. 385-387.
38. *Aṣṭādhyāyī* Vol. II (S.C. Vasu) Book V, Ch. III. 117; pp. 980-981. The *Yaudheyas* are referred to as *bahudhanīke* on their seals (Allan: Cat. Coins, p. xxiv.).
39. cf. *Ashtā*, p. 780, IV. 3.91.
40. *Ibid.* pp. 873, 874. V. 1.58 and 59. In this *Sūtra* Panini refers to the numerical strength of a *saṅgha* which Patanjali explains as consisting of five, ten or twenty members; see *ante.*
41. *RT* VIII 734.

42. *RT* IV 126 n; P.C. Bagchi, *India and China*, pp. 13-14; 68-74 N.P. Chakravarti, *India and Central Asia*, pp. 1-3; L' Itinerated' Oukong, J.A., 1895, p. 356; Schiefner, *Tāranatha's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien au dem tibetischen ubersetzt*, p. 23; Coins of Med. India (Cunningham, pp. 38-39); A. Remusat, *Nouv Melanges* Asiat, i, p. 212; during the Karkotas Kashmir was a powerful kingdom and included a part of the western and north-western Punjab (Watters, Vol. I, pp. 244 ff; Classical Age, p. 132).
43. Tsui Chi, *A Short History of Chinese Civilization*, p. 144.
44. *RT* IV 628 sqq.
45. *Ibid.* supra or Infra, ch. p. *RT* V 167.
46. *Origins of Feudalism*, p. 108.
47. *RT* IV 189.
48. *Ibid.* 628 sqq.
49. *Ibid.* V 167-171.
50. *Ibid.* VII 1344 sqq.; 1219 sqq.
51. *RT.* VIII 2953; 1542; 459 sqq.
52. *Ibid.* VIII 855-856, 734, 723.
53. *Ibid.* VIII 1078.
54. Bloch: Feudal Society, Book I, part I, section II, pp. 15-56.
55. *RT* IV 402 ff; VII 290; *Kuṭṭ* 931; cf. *samaya* II. 103; VIII 107, 706 sqq.
56. *Ibid.* VII 535, 706 sqq, 1040; VIII 1828, 1942, 1989, 2223, 2278.
57. *Kuṭṭ* 930, 932-938.
58. *RT* VII *passim*; VIII 1942, 2223, 2278.
59. *Ibid.* VII 737-739; 775-780.
60. *Ibid* VII 775-780, 835.
61. *Ibid* VIII 1989 sqq.
62. *RT* V, VII passim.
63. *Ibid.* V 342, 446; VI 91, 132; VIII 132.
64. *Ibid.* VII 1604.
65. *Ibid.* V 289; VI 244.
66. *Ibid.* VII 155-162.
67. Lakṣmīdhara (*Vyavahārakalpataru*) quoted 886 explains the disposal or sale of *sthāvara* as that of a village, fields, etc.
68. *RT* V 249 sqq.

69. *Ibid.* V 328 sqq.
70. *Ibid.* V 341-347; V 431.
71. *Ibid.* V 300 sqq.
72. *RT* VII 167, 357 sqq. 765, 914.
73. *Ibid.* VII 154.
74. *Ibid.* V 439.
75. Stein, Vol. II, p. 305.
76. Kosambi. *op. cit. JASB* (vols. 31 and 32), p. 115.
77. See *ante.*
78. See *ante.*
79. *RT* V 395.
80. Stein, Vol. II, *op. cit.*, p. 307.
81. See Sri Harṣa's Ratnāvalī where the saffron of Kashmir is preferred to the saffron grown in the country of the Pārasikas and the Bāblikās.
82. See *ante.*
83. *Ashtādhyāyī*, Vol. II, p. 903, V 2.21.
84. *RT* VIII 706-710.
85. *RT* IV 345-352.
86. *RT* VI 318-321.
87. *RT.*
88. *Ibid.* VIII 1545.
89. See *ante.*
90. *RT* V 326.
91. *RT* 324; They suffer further persecution after Bhikṣācara's exit from Kashmir (*RT* VIII 1532 sqq.).
92. *Ibid.* 309.
93. *Ibid.* 439.
94. *Ibid.* VII 1171 sqq. Lakkanacandra, a Dāmara, held the castle of *Dugdhaghāta* which guarded the old route to the Darad country. King Kalaśa did not occupy the fortress even after his death at the hands of king Ananta's, Dvārapati Janaka. This seems to have been done just not to alienate the support of other surviving Dāmaras. The result of all this was that that fort had to be recovered later on from the Darad occupation and not at the hands of the widowed Dāmara woman.
95. cf. Kosambi, p. 114. He too considers it one of the root causes of feudalism in Kashmir.

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